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Brian Crozier on
HE SOVIETS'
ERROR TACTIC
see page 961

AUGUST 3, 1979

NATIONAL REVIEW

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MR E ROY SMITH
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Private Schools and The First Amendment

DANIEL PATRICK MOYNIHAN

"Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof . . ."

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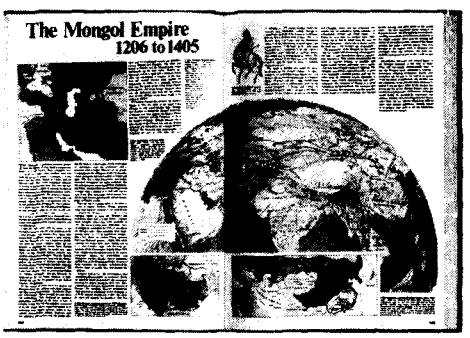

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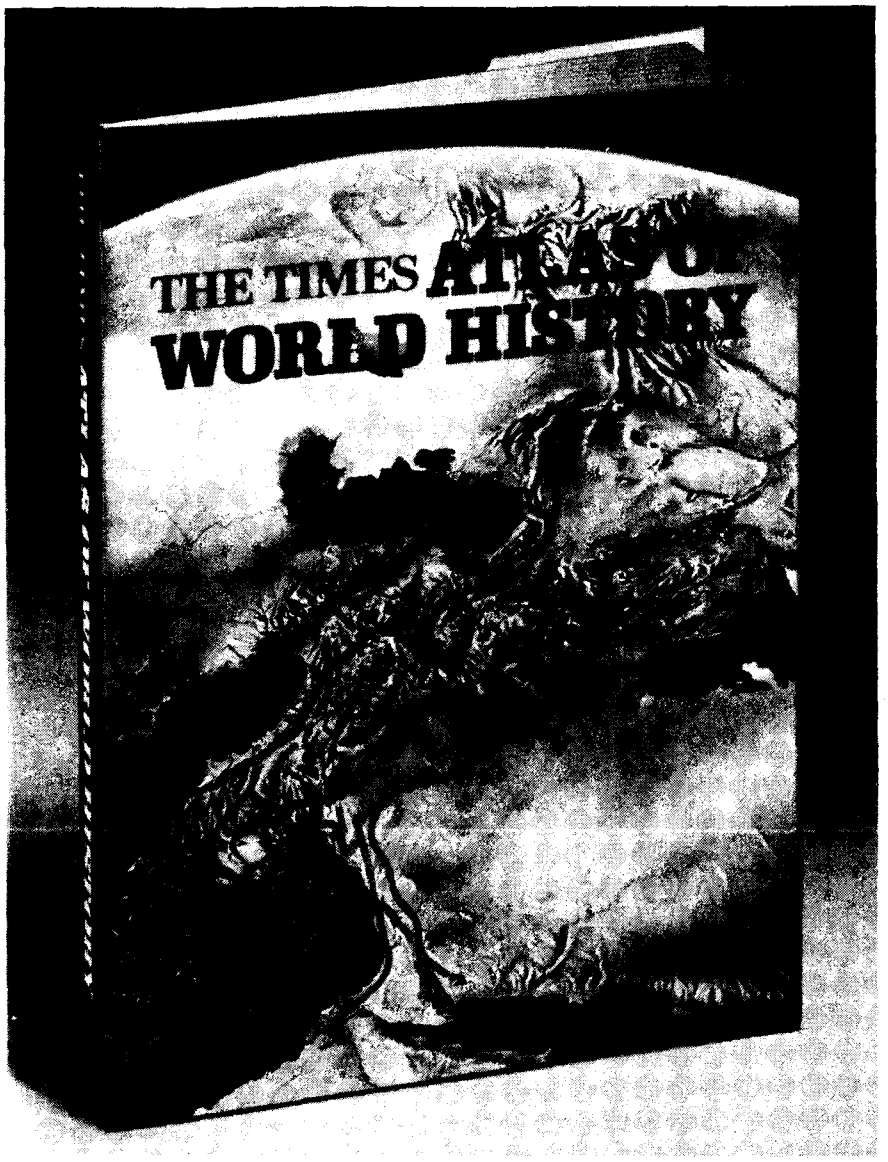

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NATIONAL REVIEW

AUGUST 3, 197
VOL. XXXI, No.
ISSN: 0028-00

CROZIER
Page 961

MOYNIHAN
Page 962

VREE
Page 974

NEUSNER
Page 975

SOBRAN
Page 979

PETERSEN
Page 992

ARTICLES & COLUMNS

961 **The Soviets' Terror Tactic**
Terrorism is the first phase of guerrilla war. Without Soviet subsidies, it wouldn't be a problem. *Brian Crozier*

962 **Tax Credits and Private Schools**
Those who support tax credits for parents of private-school pupils have been paralyzed by their opponents' strategy: they have accepted too easily the contention that tax credits would violate the First Amendment. But what is at issue is a policy question, not any established constitutional doctrine—and tax credit foes have been stealing bases by making premature assumptions as to how the Supreme Court will rule. The all-but-sainted junior senator from New York proposes a new strategy for supporters of the tax-credit approach.
Daniel Patrick Moynihan

967 **Has the Libertarian Movement Gone Kooky? A Spirited Exchange**
Is libertarianism really anarchism? We offer rejoinders to Messrs. van den Haag and Cott from Alan Reynolds, Henry Hazlitt, David Friedman, Richard Brookhiser, Roger MacBride, Tibor Machan, John Hospers, and others; with final comments by the principal defendant, who springs a surprise piece of evidence to vindicate his controversial thesis.

974 **Business as Usual**
Bad news for conservatism: upward mobility tends to produce liberalism, within or without the GOP. *Dale Vree*

BOOKS ARTS & MANNERS

975 **A Holocaust Primer**
The destruction of European Jewry has left a problematic legacy. Though Auschwitz gave the State of Israel a clear *raison d'être* as a haven from persecution, the deeper question of the Holocaust's ultimate significance remains, for Jews, unresolved. Religious Jews cannot give the events of 1933 to 1945 a central place among symbols of the sacred. But for secularized Jews, who have lost touch with the faith of Judaism, the Holocaust threatens to usurp the place of Sinai in defining Jewish identity.
Jacob Neusner

979 **Memoirs of an Unsung Hero**
Henry Regnery looks back on the agonies and rewards of bringing forth our age's seminal conservative books. *M. J. Sobran*

980 **Playing the Game**
Iris Murdoch's big new novel challenges and dazzles, but does not satisfy. *Judith Chettle*

980 **The Soil and the Soiled**
Italy's finest Catholic director has made a "devoted, devout dud." But Barbra Streisand's new effort is a dud of a lower order.
John Simon

983 **Drive? He Said**
Any fool can have an auto accident. What takes inspiration is explaining it afterward.
D. Keith Mano

948 **Letters**
950 **For the Record**
951 **The Week**
970 **Help!!!**
985 **Dark Horses**
990 **On the Right**
992 **Trans-O-Gram**

Cover design by James W. O'Bryan

NATIONAL REVIEW is published weekly, except for one issue in January, by National Review, Inc., at 50 Emmett St., Bristol, Conn. Second-class postage paid at Bristol, Conn.

© National Review, Inc., 1979.

Address all editorial mail, manuscripts, letters to the editors, etc. to Editorial Dept., NATIONAL REVIEW, 150 East 35th St., New York, N.Y. 10016. Address all subscription mail orders, changes of address, undeliverable copies, etc., to Circulation Dept., NATIONAL REVIEW, 150 East 35th St., New York, N.Y. 10016. Adjustment requests should be accompanied by a current mailing label or facsimile.

RATES: *$38.00 a year ($21.00 for the 48-page issues, and $17.00 for 8-page issues published on the alternate weeks). Add $2.00 for Canada, $4.00 for other foreign subscriptions, per year. The editors cannot be responsible for unsolicited manuscripts unless return postage, or better a stamped, self-addressed envelope, is enclosed. Opinions expressed in signed articles do not necessarily represent the view of the editors.*

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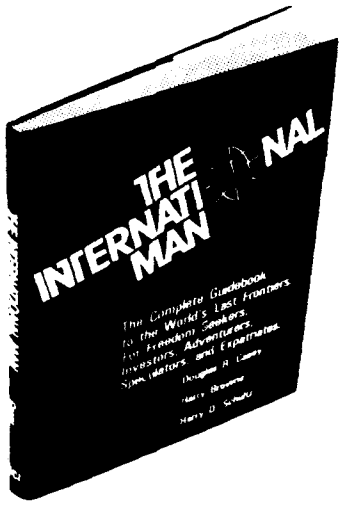
THE INTERNATIONAL MAN
The Complete Guidebook to the World's Last Frontiers for Freedom Seekers, Investors, Adventurers, Speculators, and Expatriates
Douglas R. Casey
Harry Browne
Harry D. Schultz

Can you do better abroad? Can you live better?

This book answers almost any question you might have—about 159 countries

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WHO IS DOUGLAS CASEY?

But where can you learn about these opportunities? In only one place: THE INTERNATIONAL MAN: *The Complete Guidebook to the World's Last Frontiers for Freedom Seekers, Investors, Adventurers, Speculators and Expatriates.*

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- Want a job overseas? Here are the best, most realistic opportunities. Prevailing salary levels. And the truth behind all those "Employment Abroad" ads you've seen.
- How some people legally obtain passports from as many as 20 nations, as well as U.S. diplomatic passports and other documents.
- The International Black Market: How profits are made in "underground" trading, smuggling, capitalizing on shortages, and more.
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Letters

Tinhorn Reporters

Norman L. Wolfson does not attempt to assess thoroughly the performance of President Somoza ["The Lost Cause of a PR Man," July 20]. If he had, his apologia would have been less convincing. Somoza, whatever his personal compassion or depth, has been an awful leader. He has, through his business dealings, given at least the impression of pursuing greedy self-interest. He has attempted not at all to reach an accord with the non-Sandinista opposition. So the situation has polarized, to the benefit of the Sandinista. American reporters have judged Somoza by his record, and have rightly found him wanting.

The real failure of the American press is its characterization of the Sandinista. They are universally described as moderates, agrarian reformers, or democrats. Any mention of Marxist influence is derided. The only people who have investigated the Sandinista's Cuban connection are in the CIA. Like Teddy White in China, David Halberstam in Vietnam, Herbert Matthews in Cuba, these journalists judge revolutionaries only by their professions. Military leaders, they judge by their records. One can guess that soon after the fall of Somoza, U.S. reporters will be barred from the country, and the stream of refugee Nicaraguans will begin to flow into Miami.

Miguel Sanchez
New York, N.Y.

Respecting One's Elders

I object to the irreverent ridicule afforded Malcolm Muggeridge by Mitchell S. Ross in his review of the recently published Muggeridge anthology [July 6]. An otherwise commendable critique was spoiled by Ross's disparaging remarks concerning the "extraordinary number of silly statements" he deems Mr. Muggeridge to have made. I'm sure Mr. Muggeridge would be the first to concur with Ross that he is not "some sort of great thinker," preferring merely to iterate truths as ancient as the stars, but apparently he has proven to be too great for Ross to fathom. Witness the latter's trivialization of Muggeridge's views on the effects of the camera; perhaps if Ross would acquaint himself with the arguments of *Christ and the Media*, he would be less inclined to label such opinions as paltry. Alas, shall prophets always be stoned by members of their own community?

The regrettable remarks notwithstanding, Ross's admiration of Mr. Muggeridge is, of course, evident. I only wish that he had remained within the realm of respe ful disagreement with so loyal a friend this journal.

Timothy Dowl
Rochester, N

Character Assassination

I would like to take issue with Selc Rodman's statement, in his review *Young Adolf* by Beryl Bainbridge [Ju 22], about "the racist Indian-killer 'C Shatterhand' in the popular Westerns Karl May." Old Shatterhand, the fictio hero of Karl May's Western novels, v neither racist nor an Indian-killer. In f he befriended the fictional Winnetou, Apache chief, and they both roamed West, avoiding bloodshed and preachi peace.

Carl-Jürgen Chelius, M
South Milwaukee, W

Missing the Point

Dale Vree ["Public-School Blues," Ju 22] makes a hasty, and unfair, judgm when he characterizes my article "T IRS and the Private Schools" (*Policy R view*, Spring 1979) as one which "lea the impression that to defend priv (and parochial) schools one must also willing to shield segregated schools."

I make it clear in the article that IRS has the necessary authority to de tax exemption to private schools w racially discriminatory policies and exercised that power on numerous oc sions (e.g., one hundred schools judg discriminatory in the period 1970-19 and most recently, in 1978, in revoki the tax-exempt status of Prince Edwa Academy of Farmville, Virginia). T point made by numerous critics (incl ing such unlikely supporters of segrega schools as Representative Ronald Mottl of Ohio, and Senators Ed Musk Tom Eagleton, and John Chafee) h been that these new proposed IRS re lations are too broad and arbitrary, a could seriously injure institutions wh are totally innocent of pro-segregation anti-desegregation activities. These p posed regulations assume that a priv school is guilty of racial discriminati until it proves itself innocent.

Columnist Vree asks for an alternati "There must be another, middle way b tween these extremes." There is—and focus on some of them in the article. F example, the IRS could decide to put school in the "reviewable category" if minority enrollment is evident. I note regard to the alternatives: "All of the solutions have their difficulties but wou

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e preferable to the broad sweep of 'social ngineering' the IRS is proposing to take relation to all private schools."

The author of "Public-School Blues" akes a case that these are hard times r people like himself who believe in ıblic schools. If my article is reread refully, it will be evident that these are ırd times for people who believe in pri-ıte schools, because public-school advo-tes wish to use monopoly power (e.g., e IRS) to weaken (and eliminate) the ivate-school competition.

Donald J. Senese
Alexandria, Va.

Kudos

ONGRATULATIONS ON PUBLISHING LARRY OTT'S SUPERB ARTICLE ON THE CATO IN-ITUTE [June 8; see also p. 967 of this sue]. THE ARTICLE WILL ENLIGHTEN THE UBLIC AS TO THE DECEPTIVE AND DANGER-US CHARACTER OF THE INSTITUTE.

Anthony Harrigan
Charleston, S.C.

For the Record

his is meant only to set the record raight. "A Tribute to James P. McFad-en" [June 22] reported that Malcolm luggeridge chose Mr. McFadden's testi-ıonial dinner as his last public appear-nce in America. It was our privilege and leasure to host "An Evening with Mal-olm Muggeridge" here in Rochester two venings later, May 23.

Our hats are off to Jim McFadden and *he Human Life Review*, too.

Jeanne D. Sweeney
Chairman, Rochester Area Right to Life
Rochester, N.Y.

What's in a Name?

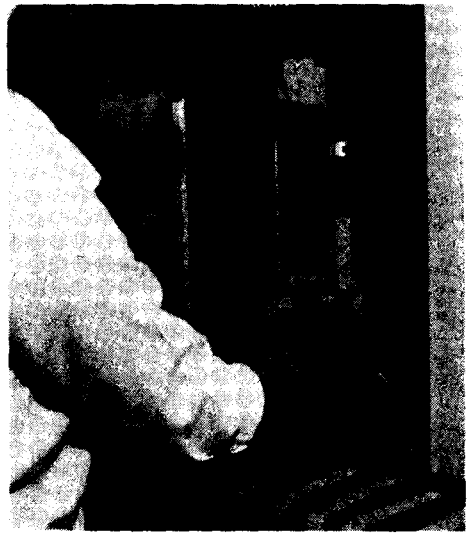
e your editorial "Presidential Politics" June 22] one of the big problems the Re-ublican Party has had to face has been s image: it is seen as the party of the ch, cold-hearted businessman.

To remedy this problem, I suggest the epublican Party rename itself the Liberal ealists Party. The name change could e followed by an announcement that in-ead of helping big business and the conomy through conservative policies, ıe party now intended to help the poor nd downtrodden through these same olicies. That way we'd be portrayed as ompassionate supporters of the poor, nd we could implement the policies of scal restraint which have always been o salubrious for our nation's economy nd general condition.

The majority of Americans now agree ith Republican economic positions. hanging our name would be a purely esthetic move and should attract support-rs in droves. It just might work.

Alec Beck
Rochester, Minn.

Freedom to innovate, Brady style



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FOR THE RECORD

■ Washington pundits hit for instant appraisals of the White House-ordered harakiri seem to agree that Energy Secy. **James Schlesinger** and Treasury Secy. **Michael Blumenthal** are certain to have their resignations picked up. One meaning: These two pressed hardest for total decontrol of gasoline, were beaten in the clinch by inside White House staffers and Vice President **Walter Mondale**, who pressed for greater government intervention in the energy field. . . . Also probably on his way out, Transportation Secy. **Brock Adams**, which is bad news for 74-year-old Sen. **Warren Magnuson**, up for re-election in Washington next year. White House coterie has been critical of Adams, charging that he has been more interested in pursuing his own political career than in serving **Jimmy Carter**. . . . **David Broder** points out that this massive off-with-their-heads is all very well, but that Carter may find it hard to get first-rate men to replace the outgoing team with only 18 months of his first term to go. . . . Also purged, Fritz Mondale's chief of staff, **Richard Moe**.

Jusp, *Wir Bruckenbauer*

Rotheo

■ Looking at Carter's upsurge in the polls—all the way up to 37 per cent approval. He made important strides in the **South**, up to 45 per cent (from 29 per cent), but virtually no improvement in the **West**, up to 31 per cent (from 29 per cent), and very little movement among independents, up to 29 per cent (from 24 per cent). . . . Pollster **Peter Hart** says if Carter wants to hang on to his higher ratings he's going to have to follow the rhetoric with action. "He has in essence six months—July to December. And already by November and December other Democrats may be moving into the field." . . . **Kevin Phillips** puts the first critical renomination date for the President in November, **Florida**'s Democratic state convention presidential vote. If **Kennedy** gets 35 to 40 per cent of the vote there and follows it up with a good showing in Iowa's January 1980 caucuses, it could be bye-bye Jimmy Who. . . . **Democratic governors**, polled by *U.S. News* at their Louisville meeting earlier this month, were less gloomy. Of those who responded, 12 thought Carter was now leading in their states, six thought Kennedy was ahead, four were uncertain. Among the Republicans, it was **Reagan** eight, **Baker** one, **Connally** one, uncertain seven. . . . **Jerry Wurf**, head of the powerful union of government employees, warns that labor could end up cutting its ties to the Democrat Party next time around. H says of Kennedy: "Americ needs a leader as Presiden not a man who is led to th Presidency." Wurf says h union could support Re **John Anderson** (R., Ill.), man "who is trying to ta sense to the Republica Party."

■ When **Jerry Brown** go about something he go about it with gusto. Rig now he's ingratiating himse further with **Jane Fonda** ar **Tom Hayden** by appointin **Edison Miller** to the Oran County Board of Supervisors. Miller, former POW, was censured after h return for collaborating with his Nort Vietnamese jailers. . . . Brown's chi of staff, **Gray Davis**, has shrugged o criticism by state Democrats Brown's coziness with the Hayden "He [Tom Hayden] has the horses, th troops, and a lot of energy." . . . A ne group emerging on the left is the N **tional Defense Clearinghouse**. Founde by **Ramsey Clark** and **Stewart Mott**, will serve as a communications link fo all organizations working to cut d fense spending. Among media events announced: an address by Sen. **Nanc Kassebaum** (R., Kan.) to the Women Task Force on SALT II and Arm Limitation, meeting recently in Wash ington.

■ God Comes of Age Dept: From a ad in the classified section of *Rollin Stone*. "Do you believe **God** is every where? If so let our computer pray fo you. Over 100,000 prayers each montl Send $2 . . ."

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THE WEEK

■ According to latest reports, Rhodesian Prime Minister Abel Muzorewa is holding up recognition of the U.S. He is waiting, he told members of the press, for a stable government, backed by the majority of the people.

■ The relevant opinion in the Supreme Court's 5 to 4 decision granting trial judges discretion to restrict the access of the press to pretrial hearings seems to be Chief Justice Burger's. "Even though the draftsmen of the Constitution could not anticipate the twentieth century pretrial proceedings to suppress evidence, pretrial proceedings were not wholly unknown. Written interrogatories were used pretrial in eighteenth century litigation, especially in admiralty cases. . . . Yet no one ever suggested that there was any 'right' of the public to be present at such pretrial proceedings as were available in that time; until the trial it could not be known whether and to what extent the pretrial evidence would be offered or received." Grand juries, the Chief Justice might also have mentioned, are also secret. The *Wall Street Journal* complained that if pretrial plea-bargaining was more generally reported, public anger might be mobilized against the practice. Yet public anger remained unmobilized until the present decision, and surely it is not necessary to have access to every pretrial proceeding in order to make a case against plea-bargaining. Then there were those who saw the decision as yet another step in the Burger Court's (read: the Nixon Court's) plot to undermine our liberties (read: the press's liberties). But that's old news, and quite amply covered.

■ Nervous disorders, impotence, kidney disease—these are a few of the afflictions now suffered by American Vietnam veterans and thought to have been caused by Agent Orange, a herbicidal compound sprayed over enemy-infested jungles during the war. The moral, as pointed out by liberal commentators, is plain: a criminal war fought by criminal means redounds at last on its wretched instruments. Address all outrage to the Pentagon. Except of course that the reason the Pentagon turned to Agent Orange in the first place (*and* to napalm, *and* to saturation bombing, *and* to billion-dollar electronic eavesdropping along the Ho Chi Minh trail) was that America was debarred, by the fears and misconceptions of ambiguists, from employing any means which made military sense—which might, in other words, have ended the war swiftly and cheaply. Such measures, for instance, as a few early raids on Haiphong harbor—costing a hundred tons of TNT, one month of denunciations from Moscow and Stockholm, and such effort as is required to ignore the prescriptions of the *New York Times*.

■ MIND YOUR BLEEPING MANNERS. Columnist Bob Greene was half-asleep, he says, barely alert to the *Tonight Show*, when he heard Richard Pryor call on blacks to kill white South Africans. Greene thinks of himself as a liberal, but he was outraged. He supposed other people would be too. A few days later he called Chicago's NBC affiliate to see how many in his home town had complained. Zero. He called NBC headquarters in New York to see how many across the nation had complained. Zero. Well, why didn't the network itself bleep it out? An NBC publicist explained that it was just Pryor's "personal opinion," and "for us to edit that out would be out-and-out censorship." The network only does that when people are "coarse or vulgar."

■ An amendment to the Export Administration Act of 1979 places tight controls on exports of Alaskan oil—sounds good, we need it here—but the twist is that unless that oil is available for export, North Slope production will remain 800,000 barrels under the two-million-barrel-per-day capacity of the Alaska pipeline. Why? Because there is no place for the oil to go. West Coast refineries are full, and there are no more tankers available to transport the current 400,000-barrel-per-day excess to the Gulf Coast, which adds two dollars to the cost of a barrel anyway. Oil swaps—exporting excess Alaskan crude to Japan, freeing up equivalent amounts of Mexican and Indonesian oil for American refineries on the East and Gulf Coasts—result in: 1) increased North Slope production; 2) incentives for new oil exploration in the West; and 3) the diminution of our trade deficit by $4 billion.

■ NATIONAL REVIEW wins its own bet (July 20, 1979) that solar power would be found dangerous 15 years from now, and we win it 14 years and fifty weeks in advance. The National Park Service, which used to light Utah's Natural Bridge Monument with a diesel-powered generator, this year began construction of a 100-kilowatt solar photovoltaic plant to replace it. A Committee to Protect the Environment has sued the Park Service, on the grounds that "the national monument's geology, native plants, and animal life will suffer injury if the plant is built."

■ Pictures of Buddhist monks aflame had a special resonance among Americans during the Vietnam War years. Surely these devout clergy must have had a point if they would immolate themselves to make it? Alas—it turns out—Buddhist monks were no more sophisticated politically than the Berrigans, with the difference that now

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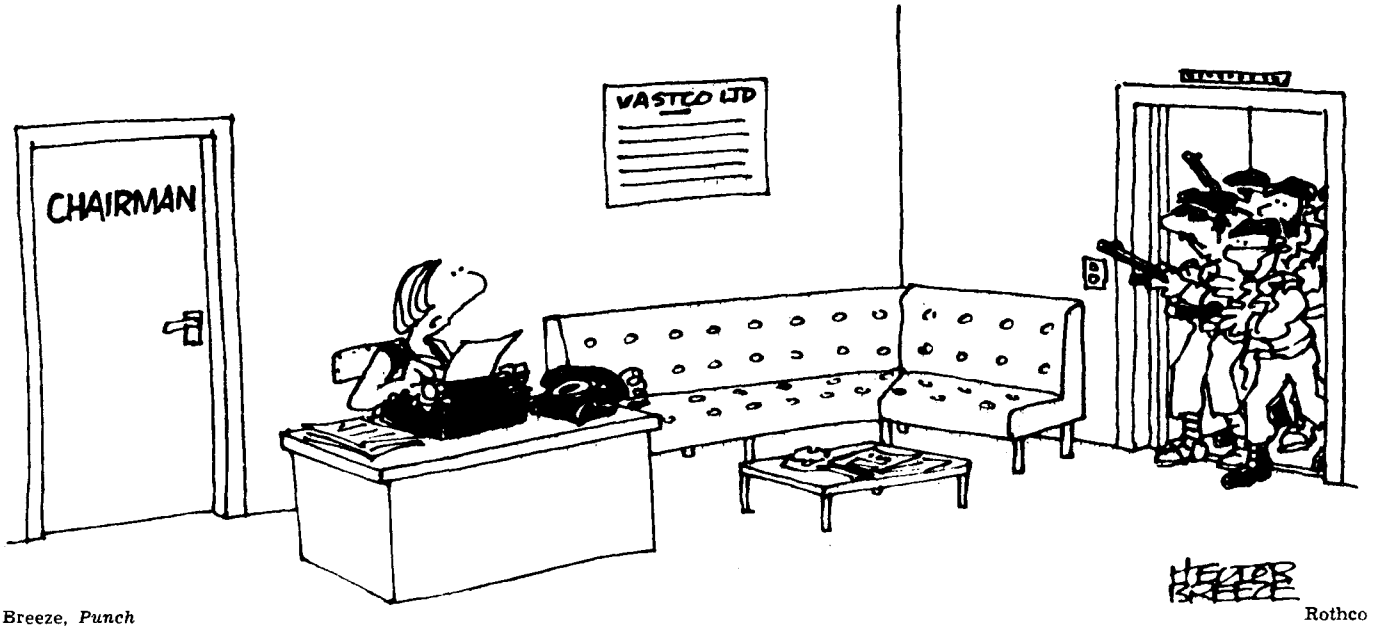
the Buddhists are paying for their innocence. According to James P. Sterba of the *New York Times*, the liberators from the North have been pursuing a ruthless campaign to eliminate the monks. Thich Tri Quang, the best known of the Buddhist opponents of President Thieu, was confined by the Communists to a "coffin-like hole," until his legs atrophied. He now uses a wheelchair. Sterba reports the news from refugees that "prison conditions under the Communists make the Thieu regime's so-called tiger cages seem like playpens." In protest the Buddhists have resorted to joining anti-Communist guerrilla groups in the countryside or—the historical echo is tragic—self-immolation. A survivor, a Buddhist monk who escaped by boat, provides the perspective of hindsight: "Under Thieu, we were only protesting corruption. Now, under Communism, we cannot exist at all. Now we are fighting for life or death."

■ Amnesty International now puts at 315 the number of people imprisoned, exiled, or put in hospitals to cure the disease of morbid interest in compliance with the Helsinki accords. Among these are 11 of the Helsinki monitors tried a year ago, three of whom are now in "special regime" labor camps of terrible severity. One, Levko Lukyanenko, is in the same Mordovia colony where Aleksandr Ginzburg was held. Prisoners there polish glass without respirators to protect their lungs from glass dust; they wear no protective gloves and are forced to immerse their cut hands in ice-cold water and sand. Their diet consists of rotten cabbage, watery gruel, and salty herring. Meanwhile Prague is preparing to try several more dissidents, in order to dispose of them a year before the Helsinki review conference. *One* such prisoner would become an international *cause célèbre*; the Communists keep enough of them to diffuse concern.

■ We knew the Soviet Union was a backward society, but now comes new proof from a refugee physician who has published a book in France about Soviet sexual hangups. According to Dr. Mikhail Stern's *La vie sexuelle en URSS*, nearly half of all Russian women are frigid—and no wonder. Most of the men are boudoir boors who couldn't find a female erogenous zone with a map and, anyway, are always approaching things the wrong way. (In stealing our secrets they regularly overlook the missionary position. Were the Rosenbergs holding out on them?) The men are also terribly anxious about the size of . . . Well, let's put it this way: what would Freud say about the Soviet military expansion? Sometimes a missile isn't just a missile.

■ Going the rounds in Bulgaria, where gasoline is now selling for $4.25 a gallon: Every gas station now has a doctor and a policeman in attendance. The doctor to minister to drivers who faint when they get their bill; the policeman to find out how those who paid up got the scratch. Still, Bulgarians believe they are better off than Albanians. Albanians don't have this problem because private cars are unknown in Albania.

■ Nearly everything from Red Dye #2 to leisure suits has been alleged to cause cancer. But the alarmists have some competition in the American Council on Science and Health (1995 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10023), whose purpose is to "provide scientifically balanced evaluations of the relationship of chemicals and the environ-



Breeze, *Punch* Rothco

"Would you like to wait? Mr. Brindsley is still being abducted by the first group of terrorists."

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Grit, Crud, and Smog

Mine the coal and cook the shale.
Put the tar sands up for sale.
Spew the smoke across the sky.
Pick the cinders from your eye.
Send Ralph Nader up the creek.
Stick it, slowly, to a sheik.
In a decade, we could be
Wallowing in energy.

W. H. VON DREELE

ment to human health." During its first year, the Council issued position papers calling for the recertification of saccharin and examining the "popular misconception" that the U.S. is in the grip of a cancer epidemic.

■ Latest row on the Left: *Did* Bill Kunstler accuse Joan Baez of working for the CIA, or didn't he? "I never said it. I never imagined it. I'm very careful in what I say. It may not appear that way, but I am." He suggests, with typical caution, that the CIA started the rumor.

■ BULLETIN, from *The Village Voice*. Jules Feiffer used the word "nigger" in a cartoon. Of course he was making fun of people who use words like "nigger." But that wasn't good enough for 14 *Voice* staffers. Fearing the thing might be misread by Greenwich Village rednecks, they signed a letter dissociating themselves from it. Then Nat Hentoff, civil libertarian, wrote a long piece about "thought police" at the *Voice*. Then Alexander Cockburn, Marxist, wrote a long retort to Hentoff about how *all* newspapers have thought police, only most of them represent "ruling class interests." Then a lot of letters came in, like one from a black activist who warned about "the tip of the iceberg of entrenched racism which continues to infect this nation." Then Hentoff wrote a detailed reply to his critics. Then our attention flagged.

■ Enmeshed in corruption and kickbacks, the General Services Administration is going to clean up its act. It has decided to stop selling sailboats, golf carts, eighteenth century furniture, and some two thousand other goodies to federal employees at fire-sale prices.

■ We welcome the world's newest nation, Kiribati, formerly the Gilbert Islands, population 17,000. Independence ceremonies, which included dancing, canoe racing, and a 21-gun salute, were somewhat dampened by the boycott of three thousand Banabans who object to their inclusion in Kiribati and would rather belong to Fiji.

■ Bewildered astronomers have discovered *something* out there (SS 433) that is simultaneously coming toward us and moving away from us, at the greatest speed ever recorded for a star, and getting nowhere. It also changes its spectrum every night and emits raucous signals, and it should have disappeared eons ago. Is anybody missing a government?

■ One suggestion that has emerged from Camp David is to move the gas crisis around the country on a regular schedule. For instance, in even months the Feds could allocate adequate supplies in states east of the Mississippi and shortages in the Western states, and vice versa in odd months. That way everybody will have an equal chance to wait in gas lines and get furious at the government. Obviously the energy experts at Camp David don't know anything about politics.

■ Another associate of the Ayatollah Khomeini has just been assassinated, and we say, can't we do without the middle-men?

Gantry on Energy

1. Style

Beginning with Jimmy Carter's first appearance on the national scene, it has always been necessary to separate style from substance. But nothing even remotely like his July 15 televised address to the nation occurs to us.

Carter prepared for this media event by doing a Moses number. He withdrew to the Mountain. He then gathered the Tribes around him, all the energy experts, like Jesse Jackson and Lane Kirkland, Bob Keefe and Mayor Koch, John Kenneth Galbraith and Clark Clifford. The guest list, it is written, was compiled by the Great Rafshoon. Then Moses descended, and went on TV.

First of all, the visual impression. It was the Resurrection number. For the first twenty minutes or so, the leader of the free world seemed close to tears. He flagellated himself rhetorically, quoting pungent criticisms of his performance as President. But surely, one supposed, something was going to happen, some Third Birth, some abortion, *something* . . .

Midway through this extraordinary performance, Carter made his play. He sought to deflect attention to our "real" problem, which surprisingly enough doesn't have much to do with such things as gasoline lines, inflation, government roadblocks, reverse discrimination, our triumphs in Rhodesia, Taiwan, and Indochina.

Our *real* problem isn't energy. It's eschatology!

In this amazing discourse our problems are not plain and manifest but "underlying," a "crisis that strikes at the very heart and soul and spirit of our nation," a "crisis in the growing doubt about the meaning of our own lives and in the loss of a unity of purpose for our

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LETTER FROM WASHINGTON

Henry Kissinger would seem to have it made in the shade of the old money tree. He has the fat NBC contract, the heavy book deal with Time, Inc., the consultancy with the Chase bank, the academic foothold at Georgetown University. Most of these jobs still seem to leave the former Secretary with plenty of time to run headline-snagging errands when the State Department can't figure out what to do with the Shah, or when the Senate can't make up its mind in the matter of the SALT II treaties. Things could be incrementally worse, as Kissinger might put it.

But into each life a little rain, along with the Susan B. Anthony dollars, must fall. In Kissinger's case, the rain carries a well-known journalistic agent thought in some quarters to be carcinogenic: Seymour Hersh. A former *New York Times* investigative reporter, the man who brought us the folk who brought us the Mylai massacre, Sy Hersh is holed up in a scruffy office in Washington's National Press Building working on a big book, a book big enough to have attracted a $200,000 advance from the hot New York publishing house, Simon & Schuster. Uninhibited by *Times* "objectivity," Hersh promises a microscopic study of the man he has called the "prime liar of Washington."

Dr. Kissinger, we can do no more than pass along the sound advice President Carter gave the nation on the eve of Skylab's return to earth: Duck!

■ With the incumbent struggling to catch Nixon in the polls, the presidential nomination seems very much worth having to Republican activists. While the rest of the nation burns at the beaches, or in gas lines leading to the beaches, GOP pols are increasing their efforts to nail down commitments. We would characterize the movement of recent weeks this way: the race has narrowed—at least for now—to three candidates: Reagan, Connally, and Baker. All three have recorded significant progress, while rivals Bush, Crane, and Anderson have had nothing but troubles in summer maneuvering. The high points for each of the leading candidates:

1. Reagan has thrown a major salient into the 1976 Ford bloc by securing the support of Pennsylvania's Drew Lewis, a canny state organizer. In what may have been the turning point in the 1976 nomination fight, Lewis held the Pennsylvania delegation for Ford even after Reagan had named Pennsylvania Senator Richard Schweiker as his Veep-designate. The Lewis coup is not definitive, but indicates that Reagan enjoys greatly improved prospects in Pennsylvania.

In the Northeast, especially in Connecticut and Massachusetts, Reagan's chances appear to be brightening. In Connecticut, he seems certain to pick up some delegates and in the process to embarrass native son George Bush. In Massachusetts, the increasing likelihood of an Elliot Richardson favorite-son candidacy will further fragment the liberal support otherwise conceded to Baker, Anderson, and Bush. While Reagan will lose some conservative Massachusetts votes to Crane, the Californian is better organized than Connally throughout the region.

In the Midwest, Reagan continues his ardent courtship of moderate GOP governors, including Milliken of Michigan, Thompson of Illinois, and Rhodes of Ohio. We would not be shocked to learn that sweet vice presidential nothings have been whispered in this part of the country.

2. For Connally, the bandwagon continues to roll impressively. Over the course of the last six months he has covered more ground than any of his rivals for the nomination. In the South, he is posing a major challenge to Reagan, a prospect that seemed remote only last winter. In Virginia, Connally has lined up former Governor Mills Godwin, a former Democrat and father of the conservative coalition that has monopolized state offices for a decade. In Alabama and Arkansas, Connally forces have won rules fights that will probably shatter Reagan's monolithic 1976 support. And in appearances throughout the region Connally has been adding luster to his reputation as the party's most stirring speaker.

In the North, Connally's gains are even more startling. In Illinois, he has teamed with Governor Thompson to box out the Reaganites on procedural issues, and reports of a Connally-Thompson ticket are everywhere. In New York, rumors persist that former state chairman Richard Rosenbaum will lead what's left of the Rockefeller team into Connally's column at the appropriate time. Providence Mayor Vincent Cianci, leader of the GOP in Rhode Island, is reported ready to commit, and, in Ohio, Governor Rhodes has signaled his strong interest in Connally by permitting several of his associates to join Connally's state committee. In Wisconsin, Lee Dreyfus Jr., the new governor's son, has endorsed Connally.

3. Baker has not scored heavily in the endorsement race. Indeed, he appears to be trailing not only Reagan and Connally but also Crane and Bush in organizational terms. But his steady support in the polls and the media opportunities inherent in his job as the senior GOP official in the field are counted as major assets. He is emerging as the leading moderate.

—CATO

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nation." "We have learned that piling up material goods cannot fill the emptiness of lives which have no confidence or purpose."

The U.S. Government has nothing to do with spiritual crises or the meaning of our lives, and had best leave that sort of thing to Dante, T. S. Eliot, and individual reflection. The last time we looked, God was not a member of the Carter Cabinet.

People want the U.S. Government to do a few practical things it is competent to do. It would not have hurt a bit if the U.S. Government had been able to defeat a minor aggressor in Southeast Asia. It would certainly help right now if the U.S. Government could get out of the way of a gallon of gas.

Amidst all this obfuscation and Elmer Gantryism—it would in fact be unkind to believe in Carter's sincerity—we treasure the following sentence from his speech as an absolute collector's item: "As you know there is a growing disrespect for government and for churches and for schools, the news media, and other institutions."

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The news media! Just imagine that. Disrespect for *the news media*. Who would've thunk it. What a symptom of moral decline. And look more closely. Is there really increasing disrespect for *churches*? For *schools* (as distinguished from legitimate criticism)? We doubt it.

But no doubt we are wrong. As Carter used to say, "I'll never lie to you."

2. Program Notes

President Carter believes the U.S. has an energy problem because 1) Americans waste energy, and 2) the U.S. is too dependent on energy imports, thus endangering the dollar and the independence of our foreign policy. The solution he proposes has three main features: mandatory conservation to stop U.S. energy imports from growing, a domestic synthetic fuel program to permit a reduction in future imports, and a new $24-billion transfer program to help the poor pay their energy bills.

The conservation policies consist of quotas holding oil imports to their 1977 level, mandatory temperature restrictions at work places, and standby gasoline rationing. The President already has the first two powers and has ordered the policies into effect. For gasoline rationing, synthetic fuels, and "energy stamps," he needs congressional cooperation.

The President envisions an Energy Security Corporation funded with $88 billion in "windfall profits taxes" on domestic oil producers. This new government enterprise will have vast powers to go with its vast sums. It will decide without considering profitability or price how to invest a sizable chunk of the nation's capital.

The form in which the President's proposals will emerge from Congress is unclear. The $88-billion synfuel program may turn out to be too big a boondoggle for the Congress to digest. Divvying up such a large program between congressional districts and the various interests takes time. Each political player has an incentive to withhold agreement in hopes of obtaining a larger share. Something like this happened earlier to the "windfall profits tax" when Congress couldn't agree how to spend the revenues it would raise.

Nevertheless, the economic and political implications of the President's program are worthy of more comment than they have received. Looking first at the conservation measures, in imposing oil quotas the President has eliminated an important safety valve. The next time snafus develop in federal energy allocations, the government can't turn to the international market for supplies. This could be more serious than gasoline lines or home-heating-oil shortages. Right now the economy is beginning to slacken, so the quota is not a constraint. But when the economy begins another expansion the quota is likely to abort it for lack of fuel. Conservation is not free; it costs jobs and production.

The temperature restrictions will add sweltering and shivering to the annoyances of the work place, and the value of the production lost from the added stress will exceed the energy "saved." There will be political costs as well, because people's idealism will soon dissolve into discomfort, and they will hold the President responsible. Gasoline rationing is guaranteed to be a political nightmare. If the bureaucrats can't get gasoline allocations right among fifty states, they can't cope with allocations to 110 million motorists. And the price controls are prompting political organization among service station operators and the threat of strikes, thus extending organized unrest into a new sector of the economy.

The synfuel program is much more costly to the economy than even $88 billion suggests. Consider for example the lost production of lower-priced natural energy that is a consequence of diverting oil company revenues to the production of higher-priced government synfuel. Or the cost overruns that will accompany the transformation of the energy industry into government contractors. To put the $88 billion in perspective, in 1978 total expenditures for plant and equipment by the manufacturing sector came to less than $68 billion.

It is a foregone conclusion that any synthetic fuel that results from the massive diversion of the nation's investment capital will be more costly than the OPEC oil it replaces. This puts the oil import quota in a new light. Properly seen, it is a tariff to protect the government's high-cost synfuel from being undersold on the world market.

The President's program would saddle the nation with massive resource commitments that would leave future Presidents with little leeway to shore up Social Security, defense, or the capital stock on which the economy's growth and our standard of living depend.

3. 'If I Were President...'

In a bit of enterprising journalism, the *New York Post* asked presidential contender John Connally what he would have said to the people on TV had he been President. Connally was not shy. A few excerpts:

"If I had been the President speaking Sunday night, I first of all would have explained to the American people just how we got in this shape on energy.

"I would have pointed out that the dilemma in which we find ourselves is not the result of any 'malaise of the spirit' of our people. It is rather the inevitable consequence of unwise public policies which we have pursued in this country for many years. It's the politicians who are largely to blame, not the people. . . .

"We made one of our most serious mistakes as a nation when the Federal Power Commission in 1954 decreed an unrealistic ceiling on the price of natural gas at the well-head, despite the pleading of well-informed authorities. What this did was to create an artificially low price for gas and thus encourage its use in unwise

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and wasteful applications. By so doing, we rapidly accelerated the consumption of natural gas and made the use of coal uneconomical, undercutting and almost destroying the coal industry. . . .

"While I fully support the all-out development of solar, geothermal, and every other kind of potential or synthetic energy source, we will be dependent on oil and gas, coal and nuclear energy for the rest of this century whether we like it or not. My top priority would be to seek congressional authority to relax environmental standards to permit the mining and burning of more coal in this country. I would urge all electric utilities to burn coal wherever possible.

"I would immediately deregulate all oil and gas to encourage every possible exploration for new hydrocarbon reserves in the country, to reverse the current trend of 3.5 per cent loss in production. This could be done today with the stroke of a presidential pen. And in support of that move, I would open up new publicly owned lands both onshore and offshore for that exploration.

"I would urge Congress to get rid of red tape and regulations which now make it impossible to build a nuclear power plant in less than 13 years when the rest of the world does it in 6.5 years. At the same time, I would insist on more rigorous plant inspections to ensure maximum public safeguards. We should renew research on the fast-breeder reactor, focus on reprocessing of spent fuel, and strive to regain leadership in the field which we pioneered. . . .

"It is imperative that we make gasoline out of coal and gas out of coal. . . .

"Finally, and of great significance, I would attempt to arrange an immediate meeting with the newly elected Prime Minister of Canada and the President of Mexico to explore the establishment of a North American Common Market for energy. The combined resources of our three nations, both natural and technological, are of awesome magnitude if developed in harmony on a fully equal basis.

"Beyond the subject of energy, I would stress to the American people that our energy crisis is a current example of the failure of political solutions to solve economic problems.

"Finally, I would tell Americans that there is nothing wrong with the spirit of our people that strong, forceful, decisive leadership won't cure . . ."

And we say that's Secretariat versus the milkman's horse.

4. Resignation Time

President Carter's staff and Cabinet have submitted their resignations, in a move meant to display Decisive Leadership on the part of Carter. He's now in charge, we're meant to understand, and no kidding. The move had eerie overtones. At his first Cabinet meeting after his 1972 landslide, Richard Nixon sat there sourly while Bob Haldeman requested everyone's resignation. It was a brutal and uncalled-for way to assert authority.

In Carter's case, who really cares? Can you, quick, name the Secretary of Labor? Of the Treasury? This must be the most lackluster crew ever assembled in the West Wing of the White House. Word has been leaked that the resignations of the foreign policy team will not be accepted, no doubt in view of their brilliant performance. Andrew Young's position is secure, aargh. To use an electrical metaphor, if you eliminate all the negative charges, you gradually work your way back to zero, and that would be a relief.

Come to think of it, why don't *they* ask for *his* resignation?

Jimmy's Last Role

Saved from the railroad track,
  Just like Pauline;
Up, with the bends, from a
  Dead submarine;
Back from the grave as the
  Steeple bells chime,
Jimmy's been saved for the
  Very last time.

W. H. VON DREELE

Hanoi's Shame—and Ours

The Indochina refugee problem is staggering. Some 350,000 refugees are now scattered around Southeast Asia. This number excludes countless thousands who have perished before or during escape attempts.

We can hardly conceive it. Americans are a mobile people who like to travel for fun or pull up roots when dissatisfied. But few of us think of fleeing our homeland —let alone of setting out on rafts from the shores of Massachusetts, Georgia, or Oregon in the hope of washing up onto a better place. Such desperation is beyond our ken. What must it be, then, for people who have lived, resigned to a humble and uncertain existence, in the same places their ancestors have always been content with? Asking so little of life, what could make them risk death?

There is in force a diplomatic taboo against making the perfectly obvious answer. Neither Cyrus Vance nor anyone who is likely to replace him could bring himself to remind the world that Communism has an unrivaled power to make life unbearable for people who can bear almost anything else. To a great extent, our foreign policy is built around evasions of that fact. How can we "normalize relations" with regimes once we have pointed out that they are guilty of tyranny, including mass murder? The boat people are sailing against tides of American circumlocution.

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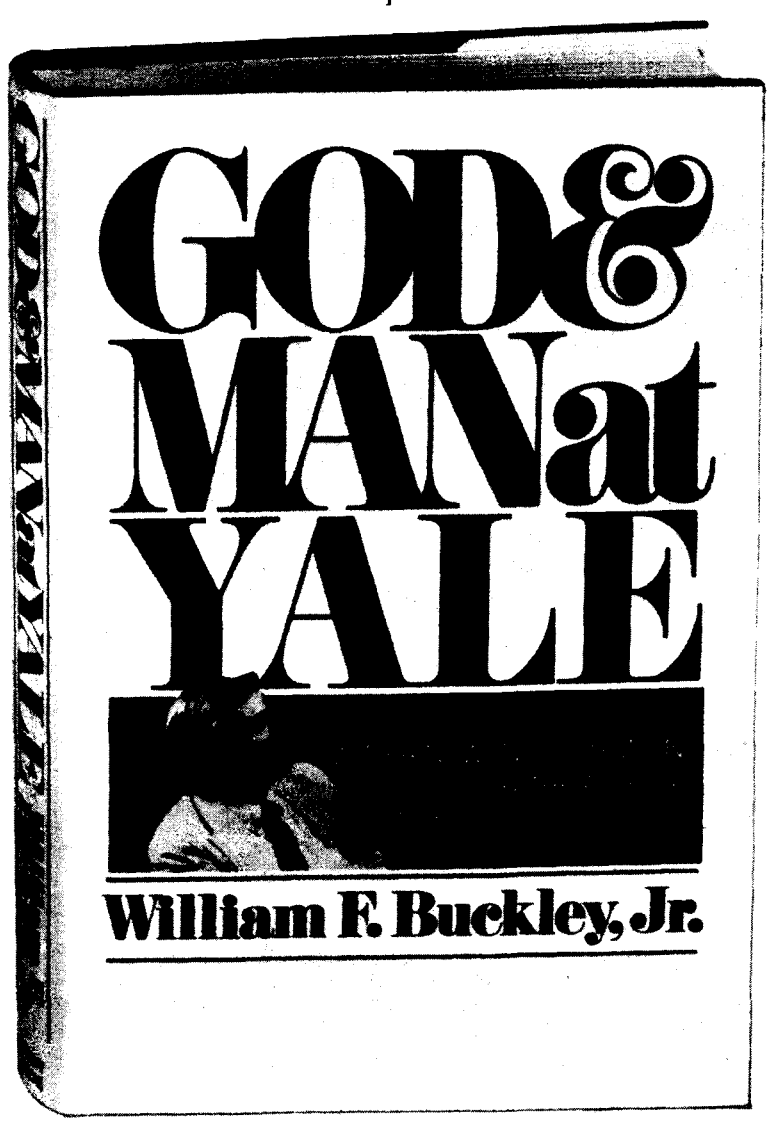
Here's the book that started it all!

Things have never been the same since Wm. F. Buckley's *God and Man at Yale* first hit the bookstands. The effect was electrifying. It became an almost overnight best seller and vaulted its young author into national prominence. Few books have aroused such a *hostile* reaction from the liberal media — while at the same time gaining the "culprit" so many loyal fans!

Now this extraordinary book (a conservative classic) is once again available in a handsome new edition, complete and unabridged — plus a brilliant new introduction (almost a small book in itself) that updates the whole story and makes this edition even more valuable than the original.

As John Chamberlain noted at the time: "Mr. Buckley's chief sin, as this book will make plain to the discerning, is to hold certain truths to be self-evident: that the free economy is better for both the individual and the group than the "planned" or the controlled economy; that man has a definite nature, which includes intimations of a moral and religious character. . . . " Powerful stuff for the dominent liberal establishment in 1951 when the book was published — powerful stuff for America today!

God and Man at Yale is, in fact, a conservative milestone. At the retail price of $8.95 it is also a bargain in today's economy. But, while they last, you can save a full $5.00 off that price with this special offer. Just extend your present subscription to NR for another year (no matter when it expires), or enter a new subscription, at the regular yearly rate of $21, and you get the book for only $3.95! Don't miss this special offer (we may never be able to repeat it!). Fill out the handy card facing this page and send it to us today.



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The Vietnamese depended on us for their freedom. Even if some of them didn't learn what freedom was until they had, through our defection, lost it. Even if we have stopped talking about it, preferring a grandiosely abstract rhetoric of "human rights." But there can be no more rock-bottom human rights issue than the right of our former allies to live, and to set foot on free land.

George Will proposes that we send an armada of rescue boats *now*, to save all who can be saved in the time it takes to reach the South China Sea. President Carter talks of our spiritual malaise. But, as Will asks, "What could more elevate our national spirit than participation in a great humane enterprise? What could more lift our hearts—and evoke world admiration—than the spectacle of a flotilla of our own ships embarked on the most spacious operation of mercy ever undertaken?"

It is long overdue, and any delay means more death. After the people are saved, we can decide how many to admit at home, how many to ask our remaining allies to accept. Surely Americans will respond generously to as many as can't find succor elsewhere. We must.

The Geneva Conference will attempt to put pressure on Hanoi and perhaps China to take some responsibility. But the whole reason for the refugee problem is that these countries produce refugees. Many of the ethnic Chinese who are being driven from Vietnam fled China in the first place. The Vietnamese who flee Vietnam don't want the refugee flow "slowed." They want out. They want the ordinary personal freedoms, prior to all political and legal rights, which until recently could be taken for granted even under political despotism.

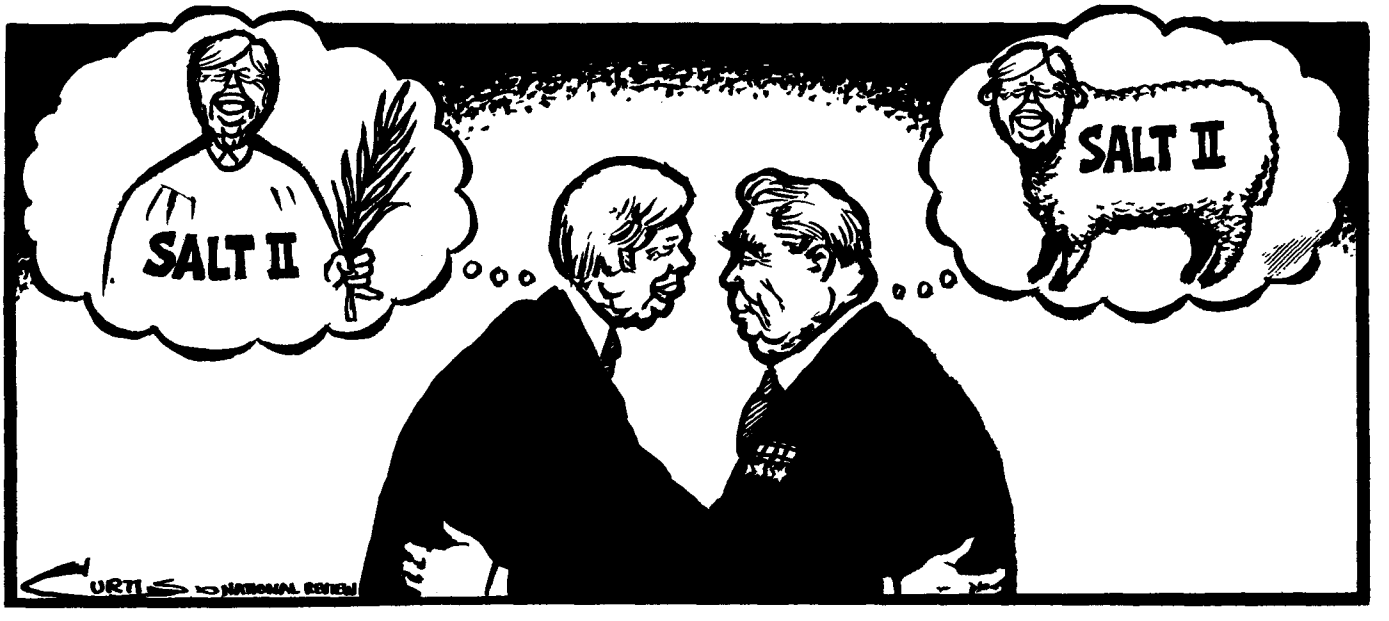
For reasons of both humanitarian duty and ultimate self-interest, our leaders should be heaping on the Communist world—that huge matrix of refugee problems—the moral obloquy we should have heaped on Adolf Hitler before we were at war with him. Hanoi is already embarrassed, threatening to walk out of Geneva if any "political" attack is made on it. We should be amplifying, not muting, the world scandal.

It may seem improbable that the State Department should rise to the occasion. Two consecutive Administrations have passively declined to enforce the free-emigration provisions of the Helsinki "accords." This means the agitation must start with private citizens. Our own government must be shamed into shaming worse ones. Your letters to congressmen and editors and the White House may save lives.

After the Fall

Somoza was the last in a long line of American allies, despots to one degree or another, who have been toppled from power. In each case, the despot has been succeeded by something worse—Mao after Chiang; Castro after Batista; chaos after Diem; Khomeini after the Shah. It is one of the generic flaws of despotism—since politics is illegal, only ruthless men become political; nice, middle-class types do not buy arms from the Soviet Union, or hole up in the Sierra Maestre.

The State Department seems conscious of the dangers in the present case, and has negotiated assiduously with the rebel Sandinista to assure that the new government includes a leavening of Somoza's conservative, middle-class opposition. There is hard sailing ahead, however, if the composition of the new 18-member cabinet and the five-man junta which appointed it is any indication. Businessmen did get economic posts—treasury minister, minister of economic planning. The ministry of the interior—which includes the police—went to Tomás Borges, however, a self-declared Marxist and leader of the Pro-



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The Coming Real Estate Crash

They bought the house at fifty thou;
  It's now worth eighty-five.
She got a job two years ago
  To help support the hive.
Last week a slip of vivid pink
  Informed her she was through;
Now hubby's looking stultified
  As mortgage bills come due.
From stage right enters (hiss!) the bank,
  Directing them to leave.
For best effect, this scene is played
  Next year on Christmas Eve.

W. H. VON DREELE

longed Popular War (GPP) faction of the Sandinista. The official explanation of the appointment is that Borges will help keep the GPP "in line." The junta itself has two Marxists, Daniel Ortega Saavedra and Moisés Hassan Morales, both currently fighting in the field. These are balanced by a businessman, the widow of an anti-Somoza newspaper editor, and Sergio Ramirez Mercado, a writer who is being puffed by American papers as the junta's leader ("Contenders for Power in Nicaragua," read one *New York Times* headline below which were profiles on Somoza and Ramirez). Ramirez is 36 years old and has next to no political experience.

Nicaragua's non-Marxists have their work cut out for them, if they want to avoid an appointment at the Winter Palace.

The Thirteen-Year-Old Irrelevance

Prime Minister Muzorewa, predictably, got nothing out of his trip to the United States and Britain except the satisfaction of one good line: his government, he said, should be commended for keeping Ian Smith in the administration, since the usual practice of African rulers is to "shoot their predecessors when they come to power." For the rest, he was lectured by President Carter on the meaning of majority rule, picketed by those American blacks whose picketing automatically receives attention, and informed by a suddenly timid Margaret Thatcher that though trade might be resumed after the Commonwealth conference in Lusaka, diplomatic relations—in the absence of substantial constitutional changes—would not.

Thus the West continues to fulfill the logic of the UN boycotts it supported 13 years ago—a logic that was flawed even then. The Smith government, so the UN decided, was oppressive and illegitimate; therefore it must be quarantined from international trade (hardliners demanded an invasion). Leave aside the hypocrisy of all Communist and most Third World nations condemning another nation as oppressive; leave aside the hypocrisy of the same coup-riddled crew condemning another government as illegitimate. If Smith had been everything his opponents said he was, the UN would have had no business declaring him a pariah—for the UN is in the business of keeping peace between nations. Smith was the de facto ruler of his country; he invaded no one; even his revolution was bloodless. The same now holds true for Muzorewa, though his grip on the country weakens the longer the West ostracizes him.

But the UN has gone whoring after false gods—gods ably described in Eugene Rostow's latest book, *The Ideal in Law*. "What is happening in Africa," Professor Rostow writes ". . . is a basic challenge to the political and legal doctrines of the United Nations Charter. That challenge is encompassed in the theory of wars of national, or indeed of ideological, liberation. The argument is that international law must acknowledge as sacred the right of self-determination of people who happen to live within the states which constitute the system of international politics. By treating 'states' as fictions, and 'peoples' as realities, the advocates of this theory claim that international law should recognize the right of states to use force in order to assist movements of secession, and other revolutionary movements, against the authority of other states. Furthermore, they claim that when revolutionary movements of this character gain sufficient momentum, no state should be allowed to provide assistance to the governments being attacked . . . International law does not and cannot accept either of these precedents. The Charter of the United Nations repudiates them. And they are contrary to the necessities of peace in a political system which is and will remain a system of states."

It is time the United States, Great Britain, and the UN returned to their principles, and stopped trying to prevent Zimbabwe-Rhodesia from defending itself.

Notes & Asides

■ Dear Mr. Buckley:

Contrary to your column of May 7 ("Teddy Kennedy Should Run in 1980 and Lose"), I am hoping that the skin-diver wins. Then he can take the blame for the debacle that is coming. By 1980 the oil fiasco will have come home to roost, and I pity the President (even Teddy) who is in office when the energy riots begin. If

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it cost $6 million for the lights to be out one night in one city, imagine the fun that will ensue when that same bunch gets cold.

If this sounds radical to you, just put this letter aside for a year and read it again. By then the trend should be obvious to everyone.

Best regards,
Gerry Calhoun
West Texas Geological Society
Midland, Tex.

■ Dear Mr. Buckley:

I have heard many descriptions of Jimmy Carter's famous, unrelenting grin: enigmatic, whimsical, tolerant, ingenuous, etc., ad nauseam. However, the word I feel best suits it is that endearing term I recall from WW II army days, but for which we must revert to the Greeks, who had a polite word for everything—coprophagous.

Concur?

Yours truly,
G. P. Lucchetti
Oak Park, Ill.

■ Dear Bill,

Permit me a final request for reconsideration.

First, I am well aware of your brief spurt of interest in Northern Ireland a few years back (Irish history and Buckley's prose have both been interests of mine for many years, though the former longer).

I do not mean to be unkind when I say that your comments at that time, spoken and written, bespoke a superficial awareness of the Northern Ireland problem, at best. You were not totally without insight—you saw through the sham of Stormont sooner than most visiting journalists—but I think it a fair and defensible statement that your comprehension of the Northern Ireland situation was roughly on a par with Bernadette Devlin's grasp of economics.

Let me proceed, however, to the point, viz., the slur and *NR*'s refusal to apologize.

First, and as obvious as this is to me, I suspect you may really not understand why I am so insulted and angered by what may strike you as a rather mild pejorative description. The reason is: CONTEXT! Your editorialist (and what matter be he, or she, of sirloin complexion, or hook-nosed, thick-lipped, or greasy-skinned, etc.) would not, quite simply, have resorted to a racialist adjective were the underlying issue anything other than public criticism of Britain. Put the other way, had Tip O'Neill and Hugh Carey spoken out on revenue sharing, energy, welfare, etc., or any other issue so mundane, the reference to their ancestral features would never have appeared. But, because they spoke out on the topic of Britain's role in Ireland, your editorialist spat out the invective. (When I say you may not fully appreciate this, I am thinking, *mutatis mutandis*, of Brendan Behan's dictum re Evelyn Waugh, viz., that "to [him] Catholicism is a fox hunt.")

Anyway, your letter tenders as a reason for not issuing an apology, the assertion that to do so would be to call attention to the slur. Hell, Bill, even Mrs. Roosevelt wouldn't posit an argument like that. *Of course it would! That is the whole point!* Of necessity, an apology refers back to a prior transgression.

Here Bill, is the essence of it:

What *NR* said was offensive, it was wrong;

∴ *NR* should apologize. QED.

Here is a text for your consideration:

> In our May 11 issue, *NR* described Congressman Tip O'Neill and Governor Hugh Carey as "sirloin-faced." In context, this unfortunate choice of words carried racialist overtones which *NR* regrets, and we extend our apology to O'Neill, Carey, and our readers.

Quite frankly, a brief statement along these lines is no big deal. But the slur on O'Neill and Carey would not have appeared had they not, on behalf of their co-religionists in Northern Ireland, openly criticized a nation with whose cultural outlook your editorialist closely identifies. It was a highly insulting and offensive description, and, gifted as you are, you should have no real difficulty in realizing that.

Sincerely,
Tom Mahoney
Buffalo Grove, Ill.

■ Memo to: Bill
From: Erik von Kuehnelt-Leddihn

I'll be arriving in America for my annual lecture tour in October. All inquiries should be addressed to me here, at Lans, Tyrol, Austria. It is not true that, as you put it last year, I can lecture in any language, though I "prefer two weeks' notice if an audience desires me to speak in Japanese." One week's notice is sufficient.

■ Dear Mr. Buckley,

You're the top,
You're a balanced budget,
You're the top,
You're a New Left plummet,
You're a bold swashbuckler whom nothing seems to daunt,
You're a rebate payment,
A tax derailment,
You're the end of detente . . .

(End of my problematic inspiration.)

Cheerio,
Henry Teichert
(no address)

Dear Henry: You forget— I am the end of the energy crisis. Cordially, **—WFB**

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The Soviets' Terror Tactic

The Protracted Conflict

BRIAN CROZIER

JERUSALEM IS not a bad place to be in for a column on terrorism, so long as due care is exercised over definitions.

I came to Jerusalem at the invitation of the new Jonathan Institute, named after the brilliant young leader of the raid on Entebbe, who lost his life there. Mr. Begin heads the Committee, followed by Moshe Dayan (now recovering from surgery for a malignant tumor) and most of the famous names in Israel's brief history. Also present were Senator Henry Jackson, George Bush, Vladimir Bukovsky, Jacques Soustelle, and others—all here to consider the problem of state support for terrorism, and what to do about it.

Back, then, to definitions. The State Department, at a conference I attended three years ago, restricted its views of terrorism to acts of violence affecting innocent bystanders who happened to be citizens of the United States. By this definition, the murder of Israeli athletes at Munich or the massacre at Lod Airport was not terrorism.

Political Violence

My own simple definition equates terrorism with acts of violence for political ends. This, at least, has the merit of moral and political neutrality. It helps, moreover, to pierce the semantic fog of labels like "freedom fighters," "national liberation movements," and "guerrillas."

Let me illustrate the point. It is perfectly normal for terrorists, once they get into their stride, to "graduate" to guerrilla war—in other words, to become guerrillas. Such groups often practice terrorism (e.g., placing a bomb in a crowded public place) and guerrilla war (e.g., ambushing an army patrol) *concurrently*, or revert to it after a losing phase of guerrilla war.

There are those who, innocent of such simple complexities, would drop the appellation of "terrorists" altogether when analyzing the deeds of "freedom fighters." This reticence offers the advantage that they are thereby enabled to say that the Soviet Union is only minimally involved in terrorism. By this token, only the "pure" terrorism of, say, the Baader-Meinhof gang in Germany or the "Red Brigades" in Italy qualifies as terrorism.

I'm sorry, but this won't do either.

The fact is that the Soviets are up to their necks in terrorism; and, incidentally, the kind of terrorism that is ultimately far more dangerous than the "pure" terrorism of Baader-Meinhof and the Red Brigades. For the former type may lead to permanent strategic change, while the latter tends to remain a sinister nuisance, intolerable in a civilized society but as a rule doomed to failure.

Back now to the Soviets. The two Indochina wars (in which terrorism played a major part) were started by the late Ho Chi Minh, a Comintern agent and a graduate of Moscow's University of the Toilers of the East; and Soviet arms made both Communist victories possible—over the French in the 1950s, and over the Americans in the 1970s.

Similarly, the insurgencies in Angola, Mozambique, and Portuguese Guinea began with terrorism. Moscow trained the terrorists for many years and gave them all the arms and Cubans they needed for final victory. The same process is going on right now with Rhodesia's "Patriotic Front."

As for "pure" terrorism, bear in mind that the Soviets secretly subsidized the Baader-Meinhof gang to the tune of $250,000 (in the form of East German handouts to the magazine *Konkret*, run by Ulrike Meinhof's then-husband, Klaus Rainer Röhl). Then again, the Soviets sent arms to the IRA Provisionals (through their Czech satellites) in 1971 and to the IRA Officials (through their Libyan protégés) in 1973.

Am I stretching a point? Not much. The Czechs simply carry out Soviet orders (which, essentially, was why Dubcek had to go in 1968); Qaddafi of Libya may not be so pliant, but this is a matter of degree. He was at the receiving end, three years ago, of the biggest arms deal in history—$12 billion worth from the USSR. And he is said to have given the world's most wanted terrorist, Carlos ("The Jackal"), a couple of million dollars to reward him for the kidnapping of OPEC oil ministers in Vienna. The point being that Carlos was a) recruited by the KGB in Venezuela, b) trained in Cuba, then c) brought to his fine pitch of murderous efficiency in Moscow before being turned loose in the world.

The Soviet Connection

What of the PLO, central to Israeli preoccupations? I don't for one moment suppose that the Soviets tell Yasir Arafat or George Habbash or Naief Hawatmi where to strike next. But it is highly relevant to point out that in August 1974, the Soviets invited the PLO to open an office in Moscow. It was a similar invitation to the Vietcong's political wing (NFLSV) in November 1964 that was prelude to the Soviet decision to see the Vietnamese Communists through to final victory.

To ignore the Soviet dimension in transnational or national terrorism is to doom any counter-strategy to automatic failure. For without Soviet arms, money, training, and clandestine support, terrorism would instantly become a manageable proposition. It is one of the objects of "detente" to obfuscate this reality.

Amazingly, the leaders of the Western Alliance have fallen into the trap. Every day, with their prayers or their breakfasts, they should meditate upon these facts (which are known to all of them):

- The USSR is deep in the "educational" side of terrorism, training terrorists, saboteurs, assassins, and (yes) guerrillas by the thousand through Moscow's Lenin Institute and the exquisitely named Patrice Lumumba People's Friendship University.
- The Soviets are permanently committed to the weakening of Western society. Terrorism does this very nicely, and it is not necessary for the Soviets to supervise individual operations.
- Never suppose that the Cubans (or East Germans, or Czechs, etc.) act on their own: their clandestine services are entirely at Moscow's orders. □

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TUITION TAX CREDITS

Private Schools and The First Amendment

DANIEL PATRICK MOYNIHAN

THERE CAN BE *few areas of public policy as muddled* as that of government aid to non-government schools, and perhaps only an unwary person in public life will venture too far into the field.

I wonder if others have been struck, as I have been, by the contradictions of public policy in this area. For a generation now, from the time the Supreme Court called for severe restraints on public assistance to non-public schools, various levels of government have both imposed these restraints and fairly excelled themselves in devising ways, small or even symbolic, to get around them. One would say there is a considerable disjunction between what we say and what we do in this field, save that the whole business is so muddled as to preclude the very thought of anything being distinct.

Such murkiness is properly a warning to office-holders. Even so I have become involved—perhaps to my cost, perhaps not—out of a combination of personal experience and public concerns which it may be useful to explain more fully, if only that others might understand why I go on so about this issue.

My experience begins with my having attended such schools—specifically the Catholic parochial schools of New York City—as a child, and the fact that when I did so there seemed nothing in the least unusual about them. They were the normal schools of my youth, in every sense parochial, and to the child's perception entirely public. Like pre-phylloxera wine, you might say I was a pre-*Everson* parochial-school student. I was an adult before that Supreme Court decision in 1947 placed these schools, inevitably imbued with a public purpose, in a defensive, almost suspect position.

In the 1950s, with Nathan Glazer, I began to study ethnic relations in the United States and learned how greatly different both doctrine and practice were in the early history of the nation, indeed almost into the twentieth century. Thus it was fairly easy for me to feel that the Supreme Court rulings of the 1940s and after were ahistorical.

Mr. Moynihan is the junior senator from New York.

Allow me to call attention to this point. There are two kinds of people: those who believe that the Court's decisions in the school cases reflect a clear or at least discoverable purpose of the First Amendment, and those who think that much of what the Court has said, as Erwin Griswold has it, is "sheer invention." As between such persons there is a considerable gulf of understanding.

My concern in this area has different origins. We face a great contraction in the non-government sector in education. I feel this will be a loss to pluralism, and yet another instance of the conquest of the private sector by the public sector about which Schumpeter wrote a quarter-century ago. I also feel that this contraction poses fundamental problems for many cities in the Northeast, and perhaps especially for those of my own state.

HENCE I HAVE been an advocate of tuition tax credits, which almost passed in the last Congress and may well pass in the present one. In the meantime, I have become ever more absorbed by the contradictions in public policy even at the level of the national government.

This came to me with special force on April 9, on the occasion—the second within a week's span—when the Senate voted to deny the Supreme Court jurisdiction over questions concerning prayer in the public schools. Now this action seemed to me genuinely to involve—and probably to violate—the basic law of the land. Prayer prescribed by public authorities, whether voluntary or not, gets very close to the notion of the establishment of religion, which the Constitution forbids. Publicly prescribed prayer is, for practical purposes, what established religion is all about. On that we need not have the least doubt concerning the intentions of the framers of the First Amendment. (In the course of our debate that day, one of my colleagues rose "to speak as a Christian" about what he called the "secular humanism that abounds in our children's schools today." He did not like this and thought "we Christians" should do something about it. It seemed to me that constitutional niceties were rather absent from our deliberations that day.)

The Vice President was present, on hand to cast a vote

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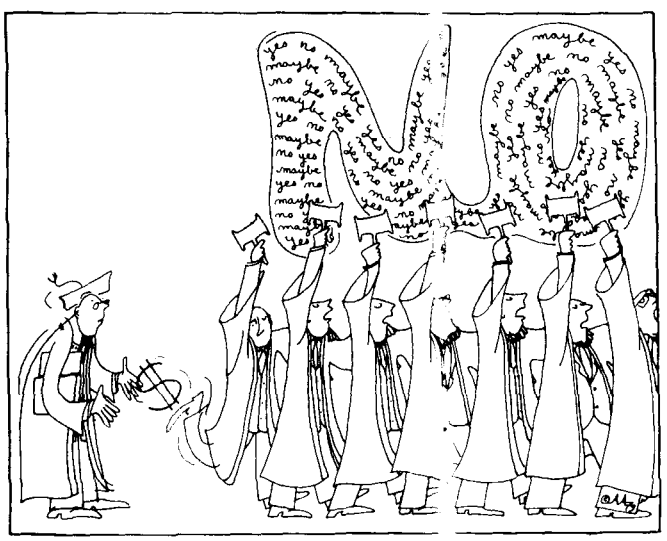
in the unlikely event of a tie. (The outcome was 51 to 40 in support of school prayer.) He and I talked a bit about the debate, and I remarked that while I was opposed to the amendment I could readily understand how Americans, a religious people, would be uncomprehending of a government that seemed to deny them what they would regard as the free exercise of religion in the schools, which they would regard as the most important of all government institutions.

I said to the Vice President that it was with just this difficulty in mind that Senator Packwood and I had introduced legislation in the previous Congress calling for tuition tax credits. A plural school system, with a strong church-related sector, would avoid just the kind of agonizing choice the Senate was facing that day, the choice between seeming to thwart the religious preferences of the people and seeming to circumscribe the power of the Supreme Court to rule on whether our fundamental rights are being infringed by government. There was the Vice President vainly trying to prevent the latter. Perhaps, I said the Administration should not have been quite so vehement and quite so complacent in its opposition to tuition tax credits.

Vice President Mondale is a friend of diversity and pluralism and, if my impression is not mistaken, one of the few friends we have in the Administration in this matter. (I say this from a long acquaintance rather than from any specific undertaking. Of course he supports the President on the specific issue.) I having mentioned tuition tax credits, he proceeded to say that the Administration could do a great deal more than it does *to provide assistance to Catholic schools*. He mentioned a provision of the Emergency School Assistance Act of 1970, which he helped draft, which he said could provide aid for inner-city Catholic schools with large minority enrollments. He urged me to get on to the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare and ask them to put up $25 million for this purpose, which he said they could easily do, and do with complete legality.

I called HEW. They fumbled and mumbled, which is what they do at HEW. Yes, there is such a provision. Yes, there is such money. Perhaps church-related schools would get some. At least perhaps their students can obtain "educational services" with the help of this money.



The money is not important. The point I am trying to illustrate, however, *is* important.

Observe the Vice President sincerely trying to get more money for Catholic schools, when scarcely six months earlier the Administration of which he was a member had allied itself with a coalition of groups opposed to tuition tax credits that denounced our purposes in language that was not at all restrained and sometimes scarcely civil. The least that was implied of Catholic schools by this coalition was that they harbor "ideological viewpoints in violation of the Constitution and American principles." The least the Administration could have done was to dissociate itself from such rhetoric. It did nothing of the sort. Yet here was the Vice President proposing to help the very cause which his Administration had been so determined to hinder.

How did we get into these seeming contradictions as to the direction of public policy?

A conundrum?

I think not. Such at least is my impression after a long and lengthening involvement with the subject.

TO RECAPITULATE, it was only in 1947 that the Supreme Court ruled on public aid to non-public schools, setting up standards that were considerably at odds with long and varied practice.

In the years since 1947, seeking to accommodate theory to practice (by which I imply that the Court has steadily retreated from its original position), the Court's decisions have become ever more confused and contradictory, so much so that Philip Kurland of the University of Chicago could write that "the Court is thoroughly unprincipled in the area" of public aid to church-related schools (by which, of course, he means that the decisions reveal no coherent principle). In testimony before the Senate Committee on Finance in January 1978, his colleague Professor Antonin Scalia—who was previously the Assistant U.S. Attorney General, Office of Legal Counsel, and thus the senior constitutional authority in the Executive Branch—stated, "It is impossible, within the time allotted, to describe with any completeness the utter confusion of Supreme Court pronouncements in the church-state area. . . ."

These pronouncements contain a series of extraordinary distinctions. In *Tilton* v. *Richardson* (1971), for example, the Chief Justice ruled that it is permissible to provide federal aid to church-related colleges and their students but not to parochial high schools and *their* students because, he wrote, "There is substance to the contention that college students are less impressionable and less susceptible to religious indoctrination." Now if you will believe *that*, in the sense of believing there is a scientifically valid distinction between the susceptibility to indoctrination of 18-year-olds as against 19-year-olds, you will believe anything. And, of course, there is not.

In *Wolman* v. *Walter* (1977), Mr. Justice Blackmun on behalf of the Court found it constitutional to provide non-public-school pupils with "books" but unconstitutional to supply them with "instructional materials and equipment." In other words a book may be provided, but not a map. The Court has yet to rule on atlases, which are books of maps.

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I have offered the thought that the rulings of the Supreme Court on the establishment clause and on the issue of aid to church-related schools are strikingly parallel to the long, tormented, and in the end absurd rulings concerning the Fourteenth Amendment and labor legislation.

From the last decade of the nineteenth century on into the fourth decade of the twentieth century, the United States Supreme Court solemnly declared that the due-process clause of the Fourteenth Amendment *forbade* labor legislation. Thus the State of New York, for example, could not require that bakers work no more than ten hours a day.

This was solemn nonsense, as Holmes tried in vain to point out as early as 1905 in *Lochner* v. *New York*. But it had to run its course. By the 1930s almost everyone knew it was solemn nonsense, and eventually the Court realized it also. In 1955, in *Williamson* v. *Lee Optical Co.*, Mr. Justice Douglas declared:

> The day is gone when this Court uses the Due Process Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment to strike down state laws, regulatory of business and industrial conditions, because they may be unwise, improvident, or out of harmony with a particular school of thought.

Or, as Mr. Justice Black put it in 1963 in *Ferguson* v. *Skrupa*:

> The doctrine that prevailed in *Lochner*, *Coppage*, *Adkins*, *Burns*, and like cases—that due process authorizes courts to hold laws unconstitutional when they believe the legislature has acted unwisely—has long since been discarded.

I stress this because it is sometimes necessary to remind ourselves that the Supreme Court does change its mind, a point on which we have long had Mr. Dooley's testimony. I spoke to this matter in an address to the Scripps-Howard Foundation Awards Luncheon on April 27 and put it as plainly as I know how:

> Our first duty to the Court is to obey it, and this we do with loving fealty. But a second duty, surely, when we think the Court to be wrong, is to seek to persuade it of this.

The point is that any mildly diligent scholarship would have established that the Fourteenth Amendment had nothing to do with labor legislation. But for a complex of reasons the Court, for a period, said that it did. I hold that in just this way the First Amendment has nothing to do with schools. It says that there shall be no established national church. Nothing more, nothing less. Nothing, certainly, to prohibit public aid to the only kind of schools which existed at the time the First Amendment was adopted. Erwin Griswold, then Dean of Harvard Law School and later to be Solicitor General of the United States, wrote in the *Utah Law Review* in 1963:

> It is perfectly true, and highly salutary, that the First Amendment forbade Congress to pass any law "respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." These are great provisions, of great sweep and basic importance. But to say that they require that all trace of religion be kept out of any sort of public activity is sheer invention.

Even so, there has arisen, in the course of recent generations, a body of opinion in our society which is sincerely opposed to the influence of religious belief and religious institutions in the secular activities of the society. In some cases it is particular religious beliefs and particular religious institutions that are objected to, but it is the more general attitude that is the more important. One has the impression that this attitude is not so self-confident today as it may once have been, but surely it persists. The attitude is nowhere so strong as in education. It has produced, unwittingly perhaps, the conviction that education is not safe until it is a public monopoly free altogether of "pre-modern" religious practice or profession.

I would wish to stress that in my view it is entirely legitimate to raise this proposition. There is a clear argument to be made for a single secular school system, just as an equally clear argument can be made for a plural school system. My objection is to the use of the constitutional issue to prevent resolution of the issue of public policy.

I dare to say I speak from some experience. I was a member of the Administration of President Kennedy and involved with the issue then. His effort to establish federal aid to education came to stalemate because his advisors would not include church-related schools, and the churches would not support his legislation without it.

I called HEW. They fumbled and mumbled, which is what they do at HEW. Yes, there is such a provision. Yes, there is such money. Perhaps church-related schools would get some

In 1964 I was involved in the negotiations which led up to the inclusion, in the Democratic platform of that year, of the simple plank which stated:

> New methods of financial aid must be explored, including the channeling of federally collected revenues to all levels of education, and, to the extent permitted by the Constitution, to all schools.

This removed opposition to federal aid, and within months the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 (ESEA) was law.

The law was passed with the support of the non-public schools, and could not have been passed without that support.

The ESEA was a promise. Was it kept? No.

I offer you the observations just last year of Monsignor Francis B. Shulte, Superintendent of Schools of the Archdiocese of Philadelphia, urging the House Ways and Means Committee not to make Congress "a party to pledges of improved ESEA benefits offered as a sop" to the parents of Catholic-school children. "Such a parent," Monsignor Shulte explained, "knows that, after 13 years, Health, Education, and Welfare is only now getting the first benefits to eligible

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non-public-school students in several of our states; he knows how limited the number of beneficiaries of that law are; and that ESEA will not help his burden of tuition and taxation."

Why? Because the education professionals who took over the program, and the extensive support networks in the nation at large, did not as a matter of policy want assistance to go to non-public schools. I truly believe that there are those who in fact would as soon see these schools more or less disappear as a major educational alternative. And indeed these schools are, if not disappearing, then surely declining. In 1965 there were 13,292 of them, enrolling 5.6 million students. In 1977, there were only 9,797 schools with 3.3 million pupils.

In the meantime, however, the influence of others—of people who want to see the non-public schools survive and even prosper—is also to be seen at work. Successive national political candidates, successive national party conventions, successive national Administrations have endorsed such measures.

OUR BELOVED former colleague, the late Senator Hubert Humphrey, who was the Democratic candidate for the Presidency in 1968, stated: "I favor the creation of a system where parents would be able to receive a tax credit when their children attend approved private schools." He was a co-sponsor of the tuition-tax-credit bill which Senator Packwood and I introduced in the 95th Congress.

In 1972, Senator George McGovern, the Democratic Party's presidential candidate of that year declared his "support of the tax-credit approach to aid the parents of children attending parochial and other bona-fide non-public schools." In 1973, Treasury Secretary George Shultz, testifying on behalf of the Nixon Administration, stated: "The non-public school system educates a tenth of our schoolchildren. In order to preserve this vital national asset and to provide needed tax relief for the many low- and middle-income families who bear a large part of the cost, we recommend enactment of a refundable income-tax credit for non-public elementary and secondary school tuition."

In 1976, *both* party platforms promised aid to non-public education. The Republicans said: "We favor consideration of tax credits for parents making elementary and secondary school tuition payments. . . . Public schools and non-public schools should share an education fund on a constitutionally acceptable basis." The Democrats said "The party renews its commitment to the support of a constitutionally acceptable method of providing tax aid for the education of all pupils in non-segregated schools in order to ensure parental freedom in choosing the best education for their children."

On October 19, 1976, Jimmy Carter wrote to the Chief Administrators of Catholic Education about his own support for aid to non-public education. He said: "Throughout our nation's history, Catholic educational institutions have played a significant and positive role in the education of our children. . . . Therefore, I am firmly committed to finding constitutionally acceptable methods of providing aid to parents whose children attend parochial schools."

Yet here we are two and one-half years later, and once again nothing has happened.

Although it will seem presumptuous, I think finally that I understand why.

The opponents of aid to non-government schools have once again effectively blocked consideration of the issue as public policy—i.e., the question whether it is desirable to provide such aid—by interposing the question of whether it is constitutionally possible to do so.

This is a repeated pattern. Whenever the issue of aid to non-public schools arises, those who are opposed to such aid manage to interpose the question of constitutionality. Invariably, at least until now, this has smothered the issue of public policy.

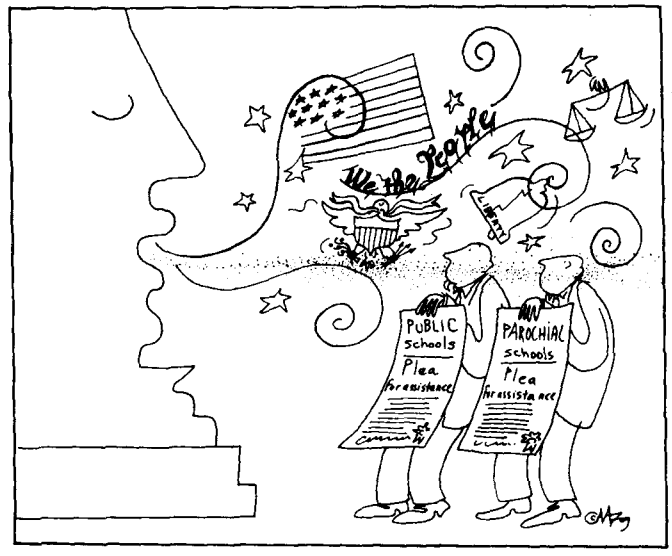
And this is the point I wish to make. As I see it, the issue of public policy properly comes first. *Until that is settled, there can be no resolution of the issue of constitutionality.* But by insisting on the primacy of the constitutional issue, the opponents of aid to non-public schools have effectively prevented either issue from ever being settled.

What are we to do?

I have two comments, and one proposal.

My first comment is that supporters of non-public schools would be within their rights to grow just a shade less patient. Ours, after all, is the only English-speaking democracy in the world that does not provide public assistance to church-related schools.

Not long ago I was discussing these matters with Professor Edward Shils, the distinguished sociologist, who was in Washington to deliver the Jefferson Lecture, the most prestigious lectureship in the gift of the United States Government. His topic was the relationship between education and the Federal Government. I spoke with him about some of the Supreme Court decisions in this area. He replied, in his direct way, that, very simply, Catholic schools in the United States are "persecuted."



Certainly *some* of the Supreme Court decisions verge on being troubling. Consider the instances in which Mr. Justice Douglas supported his opinions with references to a book called *Roman Catholicism* by Loraine Boettner, published in Philadelphia in 1962. (Presumably, *all* church-related schools are governed by these decisions, but one would have

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to be blind not to see that, alas, *Catholic* schools seem to be the issue.) This volume has been characterized by Professor Douglas Laycock of the University of Chicago Law School as an "elaborate hate tract." Mr. Boettner's views on Catholicism generally may be summarized in the following brief quote:

> Our American freedoms are being threatened today by two totalitarian systems, Communism and Roman Catholicism. And of the two in our country Romanism is growing faster than is Communism and is the more dangerous since it covers its real nature with a cloak of religion.

That particular passage is not cited by Mr. Justice Douglas, but here is one that he quotes in footnote 20 of his concurring opinion in *Lemon* v. *Kurtzman* (403 U.S. 602, 635, 1971):

> In the parochial schools Roman Catholic indoctrination is included in every subject. History, literature, geography, civics, and science are given a Roman Catholic slant. The whole education of the child is filled with propaganda. That, of course, is the very purpose of such schools, the very reason for going to all of the work and expense of maintaining a dual school system. Their purpose is not so much to educate, but to indoctrinate and train, *not to teach Scripture truths and Americanism*, but to make loyal Roman Catholics. The children are regimented, and are told what to wear, what to do, and what to think. [Emphasis added.]

Ponder the implications of Mr. Boettner's charge that Catholic schools do not teach "Scripture truths"!

One cannot easily imagine such "evidence" being used against the interest of any other major religious or ethnic group in our nation without raising puzzled eyebrows, if not indeed holy hell.

Here—my second point—there is a task of advocacy which advocates of tuition tax credits, or whatever, must assume. Let me illustrate. On Tuesday, April 3, the *New York Times* reported the Supreme Court's refusal the preceding day to "continue a lower-court order that has prevented New York State from reimbursing parochial schools for complying with state-mandated tests and record-keeping tasks." Some paragraphs later the article stated, "The federal Constitution specifically forbids state aid to parochial schools. . . ." Of course the Constitution does no such thing. There is no mention either of schools or of education in the Constitution.

Upon encountering this, my first and probably professorial impulse was to write a letter to the *Times*, pointing out the error. Then I thought no, I would wait to see if the *Times* would correct itself, or if some representative of Catholic education—or *someone*—would write in to say, "But this isn't so." To my knowledge, no one has. At least I have seen no correction in the *Times*, which would have been more than willing, would have been actively *desirous* of correcting an innocent but not unimportant mistake. And so one asks: If we do not respond, who will do it for us? If we are so lax in our reading of the Constitution, who will counter those who use the Constitution to avoid discussing social policy?

To repeat, if our experience with tuition tax credits in the 95th Congress taught us anything, it is that those who prefer not to help our schools are wont to interpose the Constitution between any specific proposal and the issue of social policy that it properly addresses. It is not that we wish to avoid the constitutional question; to the contrary, we welcome the court test, and have asked only that we be given our day in court. But the constitutional issue cannot be resolved until appropriate enabling legislation is passed, and legislation will not be passed until our proposition is dealt with in the domain of public policy.

In this regard, I believe one must fault President Carter. In 1976 he declared himself in favor of "finding constitutionally acceptable ways of providing aid to parents whose children attend parochial schools." This could only mean one thing: tuition tax credits. But when the opportunity presented itself of finding out whether tax credits are constitutional, the President, through his Secretary of HEW, asserted they were not, and so opposed enactment of our bill, which was the only possible way of finding out whether they were. To repeat, the pattern persists.

One cannot easily imagine such 'evidence' being used against the interest of any other major religious or ethnic group in our nation without raising puzzled eyebrows, if not indeed holy hell

Hence I would hold that those who, as a matter of policy, do not favor educational pluralism, or who do not want public funds to assist non-public schools and their students, should be obliged to say so and not be permitted to avoid that question by substituting predictions of what the Supreme Court would or would not say if in fact legislation were passed to provide such assistance.

Unless legislation passes in this Congress, the issue will, unavoidably, be raised in the 1980 election. I remind you that the last three Democratic candidates pledged to provide aid in some form. Republican candidates have done the same. They will be asked to do so again, and in all likelihood will.

I would like to suggest that this time around the questioning be a bit more sophisticated. I do not conceal my feelings that the commitments made by my party's platform in 1964 were not kept by President Johnson. Nor has President Carter kept the commitment he made—not in any meaningful sense.

(Continues on page 987)

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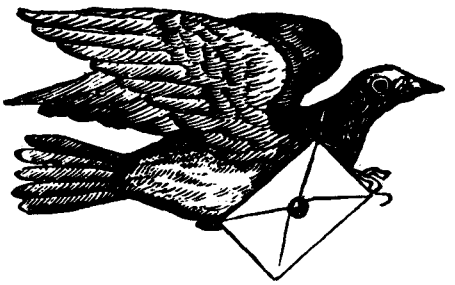
Has The Libertarian Movement Gone Kooky?



A SPIRITED EXCHANGE

I. Alan Reynolds

The criticisms of libertarians by Ernest van den Haag and Lawrence V. Cott [June 8] rest on extremely restrictive conceptions of both libertarian and conservative views, definitions that preclude diversity. Professor van den Haag somehow defines the elimination of "half the present government activities" as conservative, and elimination of all government as libertarian. Since no shadings are admitted to exist between these positions, it follows by definition that there must be "unbridgeable chasms" between them; van den Haag literally has no word at all to describe those who favor a very small, strictly limited government. In reality, of course, opinions are not sharply discontinuous but spread in varying degrees along many dimensions.

Both van den Haag and Cott define libertarian as synonymous with the Cato Institute; Cato is defined as synonymous with *Inquiry* magazine; and all libertarians are held responsible for every word written by Murray Rothbard. None of this is remotely accurate, much less fair.

Murray Rothbard and the editors of *Inquiry* (Bill Evers) and *Libertarian Review* (Roy Childs) are leaders of the Libertarian Party Radical Caucus—a splinter group that seeks to push the party toward a non-interventionist foreign policy. The Libertarian Party itself has always attracted the most activist of libertarians, yet this "radical caucus" can claim to have generated some interest among only 10 per cent of the California branch of the party. What *NR* chooses to label *the* libertarian movement is in reality only an avowedly radical faction within an activist wing.

Mr. Cott is quite right that many (probably most) libertarians acknowledge "a need for some national defense, some police agency, and a court system." And since that is true, van den Haag must be wrong in claiming that "all libertarians believe that crime is . . . not an act that organized society must punish . . ." Some libertarians may believe that, but others do not.

Both van den Haag and Cott observe that many of those who write for *Inquiry* are "no more libertarian than those in *The New Republic*." Yet they fail to draw the obvious conclusion, which is that *Inquiry* is not a libertarian journal and is therefore irrelevant to a critique of libertarians. Nobody has ever claimed that *Inquiry* is libertarian—not Rothbard, not the journal itself.

In fairness, Cato does more than publish *Inquiry*, despite Mr. Cott's curious failure to report anything else. Cato publishes a fine newsletter on economic policy, *Policy Review*, and subsidizes *Libertarian Review* (which follows the Rothbard line, but contains some good material). Cato also finances seminars, speakers, radio debates, and research (e.g., F. A. Hayek's).

Remarkably, *Reason* magazine gets only two parenthetical shrugs in van den Haag's critique. Yet this little Santa Barbara journal has survived for a decade, mainly on dedication and merit (not massive subsidies), and has a circulation of around twenty thousand. *Reason* probably has the fairest claim to representing the mainstream of libertarian thought, having survived the test of a tough market.

Since Mr. Cott provided a list of writers who appear in *Inquiry*, here are a few of the "kooks, neurotics, and perverts" (to use van den Haag's phrase) who have appeared in *Reason*: Milton Friedman, Robert Nozick, Bill Rickenbacker, William Niskanen, Edith Efron, Sidney Hook, Paul Craig Roberts, Jim Davidson, David Brudnoy, W. Phillip Gramm, Henry Manne, Petr Beckmann, and Ronald Reagan. A really dangerous bunch.

There is very little in van den Haag's critique that had not already been handled more expertly within the libertarian literature itself. *Reason*, for instance, has published such self-examination as "Wishful Thinking Is No Defense," by R. J. Rummel, "Those 'Natural' Rights Aren't," by John Goodson and David M. Longinotti, and "Must We Abolish the State?" by Arthur Shenfield. Robert Nozick's *Anarchy, State, and Utopia* covers much of this same ground from a libertarian perspective.

VAN DEN HAAG claims that "Libertarians lack either the willingness, or the ability, to make crucial distinctions with respect to Communism." Not true of Rothbard; even less true of others (*Reason*'s Tibor Machan, for example). In *Libertarian Review* this February, Rothbard deplored the way Stalin "brutally collectivized" the Soviet economy and reigned by "political terror." He also described the "Cambodian monstrosity" as "the most monstrous, bizarre, and evil State in many centuries." From a man who hates *all* states, those aren't soft words. Although Communist states do differ substantially in practice, their driving vision is clearly the precise antithesis of libertarian.

"The main issue," says Mr. van den

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Haag, is "shall we all submit to law—and punish those who don't . . . ?" Yet even the anarchist wing among libertarians is scarcely opposed to law and punishment. They would rely particularly heavily on common law—tradition—as opposed to the unpredictable whims of a current legislature. Liability law, enforced by arbitration agencies of the sort that already exist, would play an important role. Compensation for victims would be stressed rather than punishment *per se*. Whether this is practical or not, it certainly need not offend conservative tradition. "If I were to describe slavery," wrote Burke, "I would say . . . it is living under will, not under law."

Professor van den Haag surely does not speak for all conservatives when he equates law, tradition, and society with state coercion. He says that "libertarianism is opposed to . . . tradition itself." But this turns out to mean that it opposes "bonds and norms . . . enforced by the traditional social institutions." And the enforcer here is clearly the police power of the state. All voluntary social arrangements (family, church, neighborhood) are dismissed out of hand as merely "a private sphere." Such voluntary private arrangements, van den Haag implies, would not provide people with that "minimal human solidarity which restrains them from eating each other." Yet, as Burke taught, most social discipline does not derive from state coercion. Statesmen, said Burke, "ought to know the different departments of things; what belongs to laws and what manners alone can regulate."

In the libertarian vision, van den Haag complains, "society is denied the ability to impose . . . social norms and bonds." No; the *state* is denied the ability to impose its norms by force, whether in the name of society or anything else. As the late Frank Meyer wrote, "If freedom is indeed the essence of man's being, that which distinguishes him from the beasts, he must be free to choose his worst as well as his best end."

Van den Haag seems anxious to adopt F. A. Hayek as a conservative, even though Hayek's *Denationalization of Money* contradicts van den Haag's restrictive definition ("conservatives believe in . . . central banking, legal tender"). In any case, it is difficult to reconcile Hayek's *Law, Legislation, and Liberty* with van den Haag's Hobbesian definition of law as "any particular coercion (law) of the state." If law is simply "the product of the will of the legislator," says Hayek, then "justice can in no sense be a determinant of what in fact is law but . . . it is rather the law that determines what is just."

It is unreasonable to fault libertarians for not being conservatives. There *is* a difference, but there is also considerable common ground. If van den Haag is serious about returning half of what government does to the realm of voluntary market choice, he will need a lot of help. A bunch of enthusiastic young libertarians might provide the necessary extra push. After we get rid of half the state, that will be an appropriate time to argue about what to do with the other half.

Murray Rothbard has written that "we believe in allying ourselves with whoever has a libertarian position on issues important to us." That certainly should include conservatives on most economic issues. Since any country is easier to push around if its economy is strangled by taxes and regulations, the economic issues should be important to defense hawks too. But divisive bickering between conservatives and libertarians is of no use to anyone but the tax collectors.

As for the libertarians, their pursuit of purity can be an obstacle to accomplishing anything. William Simon's influential book is sufficiently libertarian to get him categorized to my right in *Esquire*'s listing of "neo-conservatives." Yet Roy Childs faults Simon for not stressing the abolition of victimless-crime laws: "I think it must be *demanded* of such a person," writes Childs, "as proof of his sincerity."

Nearly a decade ago, William Buckley wrote that "National Review will never define to everyone's satisfaction what are the tolerable limits of the state's activity, and we never expected to do so. . . . The freeway remains large enough to accommodate very different players with highly different prejudices and techniques." Despite the unsuccessful efforts of Messrs. van den Haag and Cott to narrow the freeway, it still remains wide enough to accommodate many gradations of preference between the traditionalist and libertarian perspectives.

II. Henry Hazlitt

Ernest van den Haag has done a brilliant and devastating job of exposing the contradictions and absurdities of the New Anarchism. But I must list a few serious reservations:

1. He calls the group he attacks "libertarians," and their doctrine "libertarianism." It is true that these are the names they have themselves appropriated. But the true designations are "anarchists" and "anarchism."

Years ago, I used to think of myself as a liberal. I concurred in the social philosophy of such nineteenth century liberals as Gladstone and Mill, Tocqueville and Acton. That name was stolen sometime in the Twenties by statists, socialists, and other leftists. So we Old Liberals had to call ourselves libertarians, long-tailed as that word is. Are we going to allow that also to be stolen from us?

2. Van den Haag identifies himself as a conservative. But I wonder whether he does not do an injustice to the conservative philosophy when he says that it decides the merits of government intervention not on the basis of principle but on a "case by case" basis. That is pragmatism, not conservatism. Conservatives believe in the rule of law; and the principles of law apply to all cases without exception. Van den Haag also contends, for example, that conservatives believe in "central banking" and "legal tender." But an increasing number are beginning to recognize that both of these are instruments of inflation.

3. Van den Haag, after detailing Murray Rothbard's political aberrations, disparages his achievements as an economist. This is natural, but not justified. In my review of Rothbard's *Man, Economy, and State* in the September 25, 1962 issue of National Review, I hailed it as the finest contribution to economics since Ludwig von Mises' *Human Action*. I have since found no reason to change that opinion. But in that review I also remarked on the flakiness of some of Rothbard's political and moral pronouncements. These have since become even more astonishing. I have long given up trying to explain or reconcile the two Rothbards.

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4. My most serious reservation concerns van den Haag's effort to defame the whole Austrian School by referring to it in a footnote as "the Austrian *disease*" (my italics). The Austrian School, in fact, achieved the greatest advance in economic analysis since the foundation work of the classicists, Hume, Adam Smith, and Ricardo. In economics van den Haag appears to be completely at sea; he has neither read enough nor thought enough about the subject; and his confused remarks about its proper methodology do not call for serious refutation. Nor is contemporary "Austrian" economics—as represented in the work of such figures as, say, Ludwig von Mises, F. A. Hayek, Israel Kirzner, and Ludwig M. Lachmann— in any sense a "degeneration" from the work of the founders, Menger and Boehm-Bawerk. It has, on the contrary, been applying the Austrian tools of analysis to achieve an ever-greater precision and understanding.

But—to conclude—once more my gratitude to Ernest van den Haag for his net contribution.

III. David Friedman

Ernest van den Haag to the contrary, I am not a utilitarian and I do believe in natural rights. Not only am I cleverer than most libertarians, I am too clever to hold a philosophical position that van den Haag can summarize in one word.

As to the rest of "Libertarians & Conservatives," van den Haag starts by saying that libertarianism has attracted some good minds and bears serious examination; he then gives a summary of libertarianism that consists almost exclusively of Murray Rothbard's views. Many libertarians—perhaps a majority—are not anarchists (Robert Nozick is a particularly distinguished example) and those of us who are anarchists do not always agree with Rothbard.

Discussing van den Haag's arguments in detail would require a book, not a letter. I happen to have written one; it is called *The Machinery of Freedom* and is available from Arlington House. Those interested in some empirical evidence on how a system of private law would work might also be interested in my article "Private Creation and Enforcement of Law: A Historical Case" in the March issue of the *Journal of Legal Studies*.

IV. Richard Brookhiser

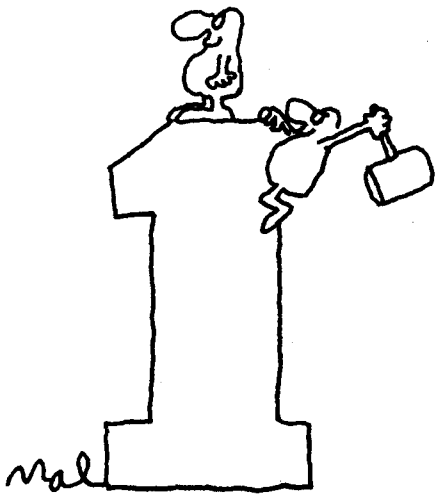
Conservatives pride themselves on their ability to make what someone has called "relevant distinctions," so it surprised me that Professor van den Haag, in an otherwise devastating piece, failed to make a rather important one—that libertarianism and Rothbardism are not the same thing. Many libertarians still happily accept the conservative label (and vice versa), and many of the libertarians who do not, reject the Cato Institute's crotchets. If Professor van den Haag had written a piece on the Berrigans, would he have entitled it "Catholics & Conservatives"?

V. Roger L. MacBride

Publisher, The Mercury

It is unfortunate, but perfectly understandable, that Ernest van den Haag and Lawrence V. Cott regard the Cato Institute and its personnel as the very embodiment of the libertarian movement. After all, it appears that those folks certainly think they are.

But that's far from the case. I can assure you, based upon wide acquaintance, that not merely a majority but a sizable majority of libertarians do not accept many of the extreme positions Mr. van den Haag cites Rothbard and others as advocating. While doubtless we do differ from conservatives in some areas of foreign policy and civil liberties, we're no more willing to pull the world down on our heads, Samson-like, than any other responsible American. And that fact is consistently made clear by the writings and speakings of those in the movement not associated with the Cato group. For example, *Reason* magazine is by far the largest-circulation magazine intended for libertarian readers. It consistently reflects, as its name suggests and Mr. van den Haag appears to concede, a rational point of view.



For the record, I'd like it to be clear that I resigned from its Board of Directors immediately after the Koch Foundation set itself up in San Francisco as the Cato Institute in January 1977.

VI. Mike Lavelle

Ernest van den Haag gives the libertarians too much credit by ascribing either sense or nonsense to their string of childish rantings. I suspect that the libertarians believe *nothing* consistent or concrete. They stand on shifting sand because that's where all the fun is. They eschew any reasonable amount of responsibility because that would force them into a coherence that they are not capable of. I would recommend to libertarians that they read *The Revolution of Nihilism*, by Hermann Rauschning (Alliance Books, 1939), for an understanding of the part that anarchy plays as midwife to totalitarianism. Ernest van den Haag should have surrendered entirely to his "temptation to be flippant," because that is about all the libertarians are worth.

VII. Robert Poole Jr.

Editor, Reason

The articles by Professor van den Haag and Mr. Cott gave a very distorted view of today's libertarian movement. By focusing almost exclusively on the views of Murray Rothbard and quoting only from the two San Francisco–based magazines with which he is affiliated, *NR* managed to portray libertarians *per se* as anarchists, as isolationists, and generally as utopians.

In fact, the libertarian movement is far from the monolithic unity portrayed in these articles. The most widely read libertarian magazine, *Reason* (scarcely acknowledged in either article), has much more accurately reflected the diversity of libertarian views during the past 11 years. And in fact, anarchism and isolationism constitute minority points of view within the movement.

Recent surveys of the members of both the California Libertarian Party and the Society for Individual Liberty bear this out. In the CLP, 42 per cent urged a strong national defense against possible foreign aggression and another 43 per cent supported at least enough

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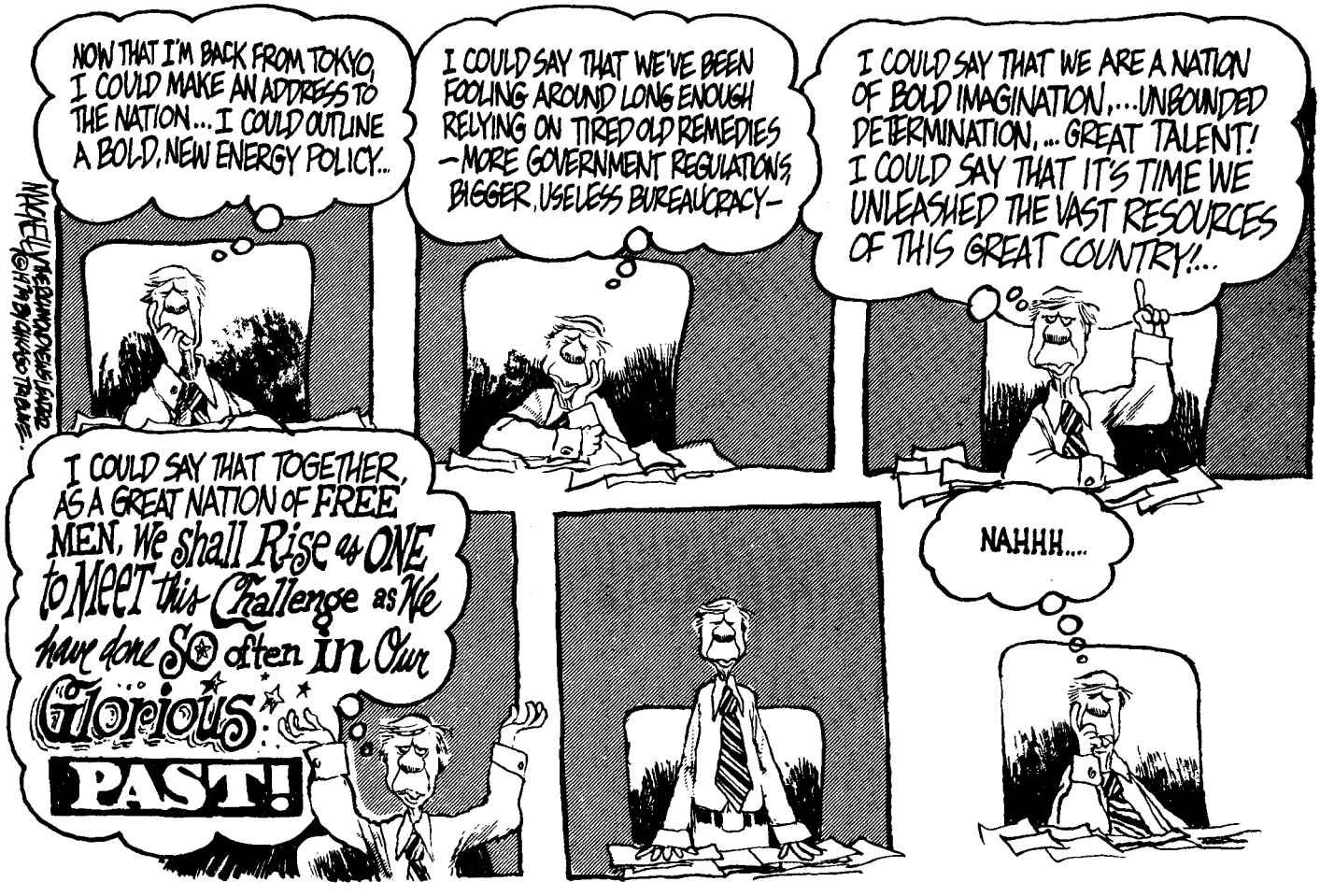
helo !!!!

Just a Coincidence

She's not the *Enterprise*, but still,
I bet you Jimmy got a thrill
As, toasting Hirohito, he
Was told the *Minsk* was near at sea.
Ten years ago the Russian fleet
Was something ITALY could beat;
In '90, will we ape the Finns,
Remembering the might-have-beens?

W. H. VON DREELE


NOW THAT I'M BACK FROM TOKYO, I COULD MAKE AN ADDRESS TO THE NATION... I COULD OUTLINE A BOLD, NEW ENERGY POLICY...
I COULD SAY THAT WE'VE BEEN FOOLING AROUND LONG ENOUGH RELYING ON TIRED OLD REMEDIES —MORE GOVERNMENT REGULATIONS, BIGGER, USELESS BUREAUCRACY—
I COULD SAY THAT WE ARE A NATION OF BOLD IMAGINATION,... UNBOUNDED DETERMINATION,... GREAT TALENT! I COULD SAY THAT IT'S TIME WE UNLEASHED THE VAST RESOURCES OF THIS GREAT COUNTRY!...
I COULD SAY THAT TOGETHER, AS A GREAT NATION OF FREE MEN, We shall Rise as ONE to MEET this Challenge as We have done SO often IN Our Glorious PAST!
NAHHH....

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Boat People

FOR PETE'S SAKE, JIMMY! WE'RE ON VACATION! YOU'RE SUPPOSED TO BE RELAXING! WHAT'S WRONG NOW?!!
IT JUST OCCURRED TO ME THAT WALTER MONDALE IS RUNNING THE COUNTRY!
CLICK
JIM BORGMAN
THE CINCINNATI ENQUIRER 1979

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defense to protect America against any enemy; only 6 per cent favored "individual" or "no" defense.

In both groups the most influential or most-read author was Ayn Rand—76 per cent in the CLP and 70 per cent in the SIL—while Rothbard's writing was influential to only 4 per cent in either group. *Reason* was the favorite magazine in both groups, read by 62 per cent in the CLP and 85 per cent in the SIL (as against 42 per cent and 45 per cent, respectively, for *Inquiry*).

It *is* true that the amount of money expended by the folks at the Cato Institute exceeds the spending of the many other libertarian organizations: the Reason Foundation, SIL, Institute for Humane Studies, World Research, Inc., Foundation for Economic Education, etc. It is also true that Rothbard's book proclaims itself "*the* libertarian manifesto." But saying it is so does not make it so. While Rothbard's views are challenging and provocative, they have not been accepted by a majority of libertarians. Readers desiring an accurate view of libertarianism—both its ideas and its institutions—will have to delve far beyond the articles of van den Haag and Cott.

VIII. Edward H. Crane III
President, Cato Institute

I found Ernest van den Haag's alleged analysis of libertarianism to be blatantly dishonest. With hardly a reference to such important libertarian thinkers as F. A. Hayek, Robert Nozick, John Hospers, Eric Mack, Milton Friedman, or Tibor Machan, Mr. van den Haag proceeds to offer a biased, selective, and distorted view of Murray N. Rothbard's writing as representing the entire corpus of libertarian theory. The libertarian intellectual and political movement is much broader and much stronger than van den Haag would have *NR*'s readers believe. For those who would like to know what Rothbard *really* believes, I recommend his brilliant defense of free enterprise and the free society in *For a New Liberty* (Macmillan, 1978).

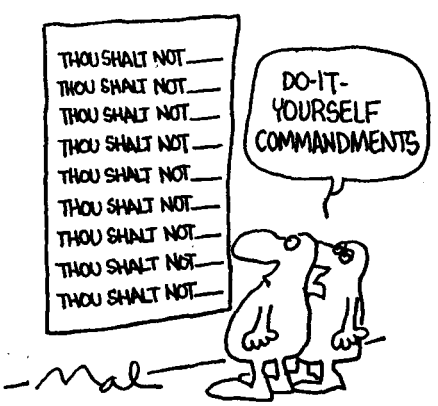
Equally perplexing was Larry Cott's report on the Cato Institute—based on a twenty-minute conversation with me that ended when he started lecturing me on the tragedy of the U.S.'s not bombing North Vietnam back into the Dark Ages. Factual errors and distortions so permeate the article that they would have done ol' Joe McCarthy—undoubtedly one of Cott's heroes—proud.

Allow me to set the record straight on one of his more glaring errors. It is not and never has been the policy of the Cato Institute to advocate "the abolition of the Army, Navy, and Air Force." Mr. Cott and *NR* have acted in a seriously irresponsible manner in printing such a falsehood.

We do have under way what I believe will be an important study on the military, political, and economic implications of a non-interventionist foreign policy—the foreign policy, incidentally, of the Old Right. Such important individualists and defenders of free enterprise as Albert Jay Nock, Frank Chodorov, Felix Morley, Robert Taft, and Leonard Read have recognized the dangers of an interventionist foreign policy and a bloated military establishment.

Libertarianism is the antithesis of Communism—in theory and practice. Those conservatives who are really interested in defending limited government and free enterprise from foreign totalitarianism must eventually come to grips with the reality of the world situation. U.S. attempts to control the internal affairs of other nations have only created enemies and facilitated the spread of Communism. Our military presence throughout the world arguably *decreases* our security by increasing the likelihood of our becoming involved in local conflicts that might escalate into thermonuclear war. Our $130-billion defense budget (most of which actually goes to defend other nations perfectly capable of defending themselves) is stifling our domestic economy.

The Cato Institute's devotion to liberty motivates it to support such pronouncements as these: "The CIA should simply be abolished" (Inquiry *magazine, July 10, 1978); ". . . recent Soviet activity in Africa has been largely a* response *to Western actions . . ."* (Inquiry, *June 26, 1978); ". . . [American] policymakers . . . were responsible for wars in Korea and Indochina, the acceleration of the arms race, the waste of hundreds of billions of dollars"* (Inquiry, *May 15, 1978). Mr. Crane does libertarians like Hayek and Nock a grave disservice by associating them with the Cato Institute's strategic naïveté.* —ED.



IX. Charles G. Koch
Founder, Cato Institute

As a long-time supporter of the limited government, private property, free enterprise system, I was dismayed to read in the June 8 NATIONAL REVIEW that my support was dangerous to liberty. The attack becomes understandable only with the realization that the authors of the two distorted, erroneous articles are not, themselves, advocates of the free enterprise system.

Mr. Koch's letter suggests 1) that Mr. Koch has not been reading Inquiry *magazine lately, and 2) that he has not been reading* NATIONAL REVIEW. *Mr. Koch's* tu quoque *wobbles feebly next to the cumulative evidence amassed by Larry Cott and Ernest van den Haag.* —ED.

X. Tibor R. Machan
Senior Editor, Reason

I've known for months that *NR* was planning some pieces on libertarianism and have tried to supply Dr. van den Haag with some samples of work outside the Cato circle. Yet the *NR* pieces took scant note of anything other than Rothbard et al. Where are Hospers, Nozick, Mack, MacBride, Branden, and *many* others who have done more profound and in-depth work on libertarian thought than virtually anyone at Cato? You seem to suffer the general disease of the media—those who make the most noise are reality (e.g., anti-nuclear demonstrators and the Cato crowd), while the folks working for long-range impact and with minimum fanfare don't even exist (e.g., the millions who want nuclear energy but cannot afford to parade around, and the hundreds of careful, non-hysterical libertarians not marketed by the Cato group). Too bad

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—I had hoped for a bit better from Ernest, really.

XI. Israel M. Kirzner

As a reasonably conservative disciple of the free-market teachings of Mises and Hayek, I wish to react—with dismay—to the intemperate articles on the libertarian–conservative question.

Dr. van den Haag's article makes only passing reference to Mises and Hayek (and allots only a contemptuous footnote to Austrian economics). Since the current gratifying vitality of both libertarian and conservative thought owes so much to these intellectual giants, it may be useful to clarify matters. To do so may, moreover, be helpful to puzzled readers who recall a time not so long ago when Mises and Hayek (and Austrian economics) were among *NR*'s heroes, rather than apparent candidates for its enemies list.

As Dr. van den Haag correctly points out, Mises was, emphatically, no anarchist. Mises would have been deeply disturbed (as I am) by some of the more extreme libertarian views on the state and on foreign policy. However, Mises' system of positive Austrian economic thought led him to espouse a policy of thorough-going laissez-faire. Some conservatives, such as van den Haag, endorse Mises reluctantly and half-heartedly (describing Austrian economics as having "degenerated" from Menger and Boehm-Bawerk). Libertarians, on the other hand, have followed Mises' economics consistently. (One group which has maintained a consistent Misesian policy position *without* sharing the non-Misesian views your authors attack, is Leonard Read's staunchly free-market Foundation for Economic Education.)

It would be deeply regrettable if the attacks on libertarian thought were to permit your readers to lose sight of the intellectual debt conservative followers of Mises and Hayek owe to Murray Rothbard for his role in spreading those profound Austrian insights, which modern economies so desperately need. Conservative lovers of freedom may surely disagree sharply with libertarians on many of the issues raised by your authors, without feeling it necessary to barter a principled Mises-Austrian understanding of the free market for the fuzzy "mixed-economy" economics suggested by Dr. van den Haag.

XII. John Hospers

Though it was gratifying to see so much space devoted to the libertarian movement, I would scarcely be able to recognize it from the description in your articles. Yet I have been associated with it almost from the beginning, both as author of the first comprehensive book on it (*Libertarianism*, 1971) and as the Libertarian Party's first candidate for U.S. President (1972).

The biggest mistake in Professor van den Haag's article was to identify libertarianism with anarchism. The majority of libertarians believe, as I do, in limited government, along the lines of Jefferson and Madison. We consider the revolution of 1776 to have been a libertarian revolution (one directed against government tyranny), and believe that the American Republic that began in 1789 is a worthy model for imitation today.

Limited-government libertarians differ from anarchist libertarians, not in that we insist on having tax-supported municipal police forces rather than privately hired ones (private competing organizations almost always do the job better), but in that we believe there must be one *lawmaking* body within a geographical area (a nation) whose main function is to keep the peace and arbitrate disputes. The difference lies not in the enforcement but in *what* they may legitimately enforce.

The foreign policy you describe is that of a minority of libertarians who may indeed dominate the Cato Institute but not the libertarian movement. Most of us, while opposed to international meddling, are 1) committed to a national defense sufficient to ward off all aggression, and 2) quite aware of the threat posed by the Soviet Union, or for that matter by an alliance with Communist China.

Professor van den Haag refers to Barnett and Hagel's anthology *Assessing the Criminal*. Had he examined it more carefully, he would have seen—in my own essay, for example—that most libertarians do not look upon restitution as the main function of punishment, but *justice*: that is why I hold a retributive theory, as does Rothbard himself. But Professor van den Haag's misapprehension of the views held by the main body of libertarians is so grotesque that it would take an entire volume to refute it point by point.

Ernest van den Haag Replies

The letters that precede do not charge that I misrepresented the main views attributed to the libertarians I quoted; nor do the writers address, let alone refute, my analysis of these views. It seems fair to conclude that my correspondents found the views I criticized correctly described—and indefensible. However, my correspondents complain that they do not share these libertarian views. Indeed, the views quoted are only the views of those quoted. Do they misrepresent libertarianism? Did I give undue weight to the ideas of Murray Rothbard and to the policies of the Cato Institute, as charged by Messrs. Reynolds, Brookhiser, MacBride, Poole, Friedman, Machan, and Hospers?

I should be more easily persuaded of the misperception charged had I not received in today's mail an official invitation to the "1979 Libertarian Presidential Nomination Convention" (L.A., of course). The speakers include John Hospers, Roger MacBride, and other innocents, as well as Morton Halperin, Earl Ravenal, and Alan Baron ("the politically astute" former "advisor to Senator George McGovern and Executive Director of the Democratic National Committee"). My correspondents questioned the representativeness of *The Libertarian Review*, from which I quoted extensively. Its editor, Roy A.

(Continues on page 986)

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Business as Usual

Sage Brush

DALE VREE

IF YOU ARE an attentive reader of public opinion polls, you have noticed that the college-educated often have significantly more liberal political and cultural views than the non-college-educated. But you've also noticed that the college-educated are more Republican. How can this be?

Terry S. Weiner and Bruce K. Eckland answer this question in "Education and Political Party: The Effects of College or Social Class?" in the January *American Journal of Sociology*. They show that exposure to college actually reduces preference for the Republican Party; but since party identification is formed by the time a child reaches adolescence, since the affluent are more likely than the non-affluent to be Republican and to get their children into college, and since education is in part a credentialing process getting people into upper-middle-class occupations, in which Republicans are over-represented and newcomers are thus prone to think Republican, therefore the college-educated still lean toward the GOP. And yet, over time, college socialization and —let's be frank—indoctrination have been successfully chipping away at Republican identity.

Apparently, as the traditionally Republican upper middle class becomes more liberal, part of it is switching to the Democratic Party—thus weakening the GOP—and that part remaining Republican prevents the GOP from moving decisively to the Right. Pity the conservative Republicans, for as their party shrinks in registration it does *not* become correspondingly more conservative.

But isn't the country "moving Right"? Not so, according to Everett Carll Ladd Jr., who examines national trends on numerous issues in the Spring *Wilson Quarterly* ("What the Polls Tell Us"). But what about the Proposition 13 revolt? Ladd zeroes in on this in his "The Polls: Taxing and Spending" in the Spring *Public Opinion Quarterly*. He shows that Americans overwhelmingly want the domestic services "big government" provides. For example, in 1978 only small minorities thought we were spending too much on the environment, health, urban problems, crime, drug addiction, education, and the condition of blacks; the only thing a majority felt we were spending too much on was welfare. These patterns hold even for conservatives.

Yet Americans clearly want reduced taxes. But how can government services be maintained at current levels, taxes reduced, and inflation fought all at once? Ladd suggests that the people believe the culprit is not big government as such, but waste in government —that if the fat is cut away, services can still be maintained. But think a moment. If the tax revolt succeeds—and on the people's terms—big government will endure, but it will be more efficient. The welfare state will start behaving the way liberals promised it would. The tax revolt could turn out to be a Pyrrhic victory for conservatives, for it could once again make big government attractive, thank you.

Gay Lib and Abortion

Ladd notes (in the *Wilson* article) that the major social cleavage today is between the upper middle class and the lower middle class (which includes the working class), with the upper middle class leaning more toward liberalism—including lifestyle liberalism. To those familiar with Seymour Martin Lipset's seminal 1959 article on "Working-Class Authoritarianism" in the *American Sociological Review*, this assertion will come as no surprise. In a partial retest of the Lipset thesis, Edward G. Grabb finds that it still holds up ("Working-Class Authoritarianism and Tolerance of Outgroups: A Reassessment," Spring *Public Opinion Quarterly*). One of Grabb's more interesting findings is that 66 per cent of professional and technical people and 52 per cent of administrators and businessmen are tolerant of homosexuals, but only 36 per cent of manual workers are. Intuition tells us that "gay lib" is not a populist cause, but here is good statistical evidence.

Speaking of populism, James Hitchcock tells us (in "Abortion and the Moral Revolution" in the Spring *Human Life Review*) that "the anti-abortion movement is as close to a genuinely populist cause as can be found in America." Abortion is the litmus test of our national morality, and if the pro-abortion upper middle class is successful, it may see to it that "morality as such ceases to exist." And if it succeeds, it will do so in part because it has convinced itself that it is "educated" whereas the anti-abortion lower middle class is narrow, bigoted, and irrational.

Ms. *versus* NR

Morality as we have known it may vanish (and big government may endure), but fear not—capitalism will carry on. Capitalism doesn't need to pretend to be moral—what it requires is an environment where ultimately "the 'needs' of the individual are self-validating"—and this notion, as Hitchcock tells us, is a cardinal tenet of the pro-abortion position. Moreover, "many educated people who take their superior economic status for granted . . . pride themselves on their advanced social views"—from which it may be extrapolated that while increasing education may vex conservative Republicans, it actually offers the upper bourgeoisie needed doses of self-esteem and self-confidence. The important thing, you *know*, darling, is to have advanced social views, never mind how rich you are. The corporate elite has always been in need, not necessarily of morality but of social legitimacy—which is why corporations would prefer to advertise in *Ms.* and *Penthouse* rather than in *NR*. From the Progressive Era through the New Deal on up to the present, business has had a knack for using liberalism as a fig leaf to cover its avarice.

No ma'am, abortion-on-demand and gay lib are not the end of the world, just business as usual. □

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A "Holocaust" Primer

JACOB NEUSNER

In January 1945, while the gas chambers still were working, people knew that it was all over for the Jews of Europe. Most were dead, the rest dying. Few would survive until spring. At the annual conference of the Yiddish Scientific Institute held that month, the greatest Judaic theologian of this century, Abraham Joshua Heschel, a Jew from Poland, said what there was to be said. What lessons there were to be drawn from the death of European Jewry he did not specify; what lessons there were to be learned from its life he proposed to state.

He asked his hearers how one might appraise the historical significance of the world now ended in smoke and ashes. And he answered: "As Jews, with an old tradition for appraising and judging events and generations, we evaluate history by different criteria, namely, by how much refinement there is in the life of a people, by how much spiritual substance there is in its everyday existence. . . . We gauge culture by the extent to which a whole people, not only individuals, lives in accordance with the dictates of an eternal doctrine or strives for spiritual integrity; the extent to which inwardness, compassion, justice, and holiness are to be found in the daily life of the masses." Speaking of the millions of Eastern European Jews, who had borne the brunt of the massacres, he said: ". . . in this period our people attained the highest degree of inwardness . . . it was the golden period in the history of the Jewish soul." Heschel concluded this oration, which became a book under the significant title *The Earth Is the Lord's*, as follows: "Loyal to the presence of the ultimate in the common, we may be able to make it clear that man is more than man, that in doing the finite he may perceive the infinite."

It should not be thought that Heschel addressed the world like a universalist Reform rabbi, speaking "to all humanity, not *only* to the Jews." His was a distinctively Judaic message. The penultimate passage of his oration contained that profound sadness, profoundly understated, which expresses the meaning of a long and often trying history: "Our life is beset with difficulties, yet it is never devoid of meaning. . . . Our existence is not in vain. There is a Divine earnestness about our life This is our dignity. To be invested with dignity means to represent something more than oneself. The gravest sin for a Jew is to forget what he represents. We are God's stake in human history. . . . The time for the kingdom may be far off, but the task is plain; to retain our share in God in spite of peril and contempt."

But there is a Jewish meaning to the massacre of European Jewry which of itself is also a human meaning.

It is that simple affirmation of life in the face of death and that defiance of despair which Heschel expressed, and which he also personally embodied in that cold and terrible January of 1945. For he had been snatched from Warsaw after the Germans had arrived there, and he had lost all of his family. He was the last of them: the witness, the survivor, the brand plucked from the burning, the saving remnant. In his testament is contained the spirituality of Judaism: fully realized, he claimed, in that world which is no more, that world which is only to be mourned. While the dying yet was going on, he entitled his testament, "The Earth Is the Lord's." There is nothing more to say.

How have we come from that defiance of despair, from that affirmation of God's rule on earth and in heaven, to "the Holocaust"? For there surely is a contrast between the dignity and hopefulness of Heschel, who had suffered and lost but endured, and the bathos and obsession of those who, 35 years later, want to speak of nothing but transports, gas chambers, a million abandoned teddy bears, and the death of God.

Heschel imputed no enduring guilt to others, whether "the gentiles," or "the Christians," or "the Germans." Like Leo Baeck, chief rabbi of German Reform Judaism and another survivor of the concentration camps, he may have wondered whether the Germans had forgiven themselves.

Judith Chettle *is a journalist and literary critic, formerly based in South Africa. . . .* **Jacob Neusner** *is a professor in the Department of Religious Studies at Brown University.*

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But he knew that the earth is the Lord's, and affirmed that judgment is God's. A man who talked of dignity and who understood that we represent more than ourselves, Heschel spoke with silence. He mourned to the day of his death. But he loved life, accepted all, regretted nothing. Having given his testimony, he went on to other things. The word "Holocaust" scarcely appears in his vast theological writings. The problem of evil is a problem, but it is no more than that. Heschel wrote much more on Job than on "Auschwitz." The stench and human degradation, the unspeakable cruelty and inexpressible horror—these he knew full well. But he speaks of dignity and refinement. The epitaph is written not by Hitler, but by Heschel.

But if Heschel spoke the last word in the closing months of the war, whence "the Holocaust"? We would look in vain in the 1950s for what some call "Holocaustomania." The Jews were concerned with other things. There was a return to religion and, among the second and third generations of American Jews, to the synagogue. Indeed, Heschel's theological writings of that period enjoyed a wide and appreciative audience. Describing American Judaism in the mid-1950s, the great sociologist Nathan Glazer managed to write an entire book without making more than passing reference to the destruction of European Jewry.

The contrast with the 1970s is striking. Now there is no way to address the Jewish world without referring to "the Holocaust." It is taken for granted that that event, bearing meanings all of us know and none needs to articulate and expatiate upon, exhausts the agenda for discussions between Jewry and the world at large.

Now, it should not be thought that in the twenty years following 1945 people failed to notice the absence of more than five million European Jews, who were among more than twenty million European civilians who had perished in the recent war. There was, after all, the State of Israel, created in part as a refuge for those survivors of European Jewry who chose to go there and supported in some measure for its role as a phoenix arisen from the ashes of the exterminated communities of the Continent. Still more important, there were many scholarly works and novels, written both to preserve the events in a factual way and to explore their meaning for the life of the imagination. Most important of all, a profound sense of their status as survivors seized world Jewry. American Jews knew that, had their parents or grandparents not left Europe, they too would have been killed. America for them assumed a providential aspect, as did the State of Israel for those Israelis (and they are many) who had lost their families in Poland or Holland or Hungary. So the Jews did not forget. They drew lessons, and taught them. They did not neglect the tasks of mourning and memorialization.

But we do not find in the 1950s what we see today: that obsession with "the Holocaust" which wants to make the tragedy into the principal subject of public discourse with Jews and about Judaism. The refinement, restraint, and dignity of Heschel and his generation have not been taken as models by his successors. There have even been proposals to set up "Holocaust centers" in every Jewish community, complete with buildings, professional staffs, exhibitions, programs, and commemorative events. Such "Holocaust centers" are to function like synagogues. But the faith which brings them into being is not Judaism and its rites, but, rather, one chapter in the history of the Jewish people. One does not have to aim at forgetting the unforgettable in order to judge such "centers" as nihilistic and obsessive, lacking that dignity and faith of which Heschel spoke.

And now we have the President's Holocaust Commission, which raises the whole business above the level of parochialism and provinciality. Just this spring in the rotunda of the Capitol there was a solemn memorial service, a public event within the context of America's civil religion. So far as America represents itself as a religious nation, with a place for Catholic, Protestant, Jew (and, I hope, Moslem, Buddhist, Russian, and Greek Orthodox, and many more),

RANDOM NOTES

■ Americana: Former *Washington Post* reporter Philip Kopper traveled up and down the Atlantic shoreline to research *The Wild Edge: Life and Lore of the Great Atlantic Beaches* (Times Books, $12.50). The work includes extensive natural history as well as practical advice—for instance, on how to cook fresh ocean fish.

■ More August Selections: *NR* contributor and University of Alabama historian Forrest McDonald plumbs the life of Aaron Burr's victim in *Alexander Hamilton: A Biography* (Norton, $17.50). The writing does justice to the life. . . . Magellan was never like this. Naomi James, a sailor for only two years, with little navigational experience, sailed *Alone around the World* (Coward, McCann, $10.95) in a 53-foot borrowed boat. She was the first woman to do it alone. . . . *Life, Law, and Letters: Essays and Sketches* (Houghton Mifflin, $8.95) is a collection by Louis Auchincloss. Justices Holmes and Cardozo, Messrs. Sinclair Lewis and Theodore Dreiser are among the subjects. . . . Already a best-seller in Europe, *The Untold History of Israel* (Grove Press, $12.50) is the investigative work of two *L'Express* journalists, Jacques Derogy and Hesi Carmel. The authors divulge the seamier side of Israel's survival among hostile neighbors. They even take you into Anwar Sadat's bedroom (which the Israelis bugged) for details of the expulsion of the Soviets from Egypt. . . . Violence, lust, the Mafia, and liquor swindling are among the themes of *Born with the Century* (Putnam, $12.50) by William Kinsolving. The book stands out among a weak summer fiction crop. . . . In *Desolate Angel: Jack Kerouac, the Beats, and America* (Random House, $15), author Dennis McNally promises more than he delivers. Kerouac is exalted as a cult figure. . . . American expatriates in London receive their evocation in *The London Yankees: Portraits of American Writers and Artists in England, 1894-1914* (Harcourt Brace, $14.95) by Stanley Weintraub. Among the crowd were Mark Twain, Henry James, Stephen Crane, Edith Wharton, Frost, Eliot, and Pound. . . . *Connections* (Little, Brown, $17.95) is a lavish history of technology. James Burke combines over 240 photographs in this companion piece to a BBC series, to be broadcast by the American PBS this autumn.

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the Judaic component is now defined by "the Holocaust."

Not a few Jews find the Holocaust Commission puzzling. There has not, after all, been a commission created to memorialize the Armenian massacres of World War I (the first major act of genocide in this century), or the political violence and mass murder of Stalinist Russia and Maoist China, let alone the Nazi war against the Poles, Russians, South Slavs, Slovaks, and other people deemed by the racist *Wissenschaft* to be subhuman. And, to be sure, such commissions as these would prove equally puzzling to blacks and Indians on our own shores, who surely would wonder why we commemorate these sorts of acts done abroad, which when they occur in our own land are forgotten.

Since the Armenian people in America shape their distinctive life around their faith and church, and, mourning for the dead, have yet to found Armenian centers of remembrance of Turkish atrocities alongside their institutions of community and church, we must inquire into this aspect of Jewish activity. What role is the "Holocaust" *as symbol* meant to serve? For it is as evocative symbol, not as historical memory, that "the Holocaust" wins its capital H and its quotation marks.

If we want to know what important questions "the Holocaust" answers for American Jews, we have first of all to ask when the sorrow and pain of the European tragedy turned into "the Holocaust." Also, we need to discover when "the Holocaust" became a powerful and evocative symbol. When did it begin to bear its own, unexamined, self-evident meanings, to impose its own, unanalyzed significance, so that, without reflection, we all know how we are supposed to feel and think and what we are supposed to do? The answer lies in the career of another distinguished theologian of Judaism, Emil Fackenheim. For if Heschel addressed the world which endured the war and personally suffered in it, Fackenheim became the prophet of "the Holocaust" and one of its powerful ideologists. Tracing the turn in his career helps us to isolate the moment of transition from event to symbol.

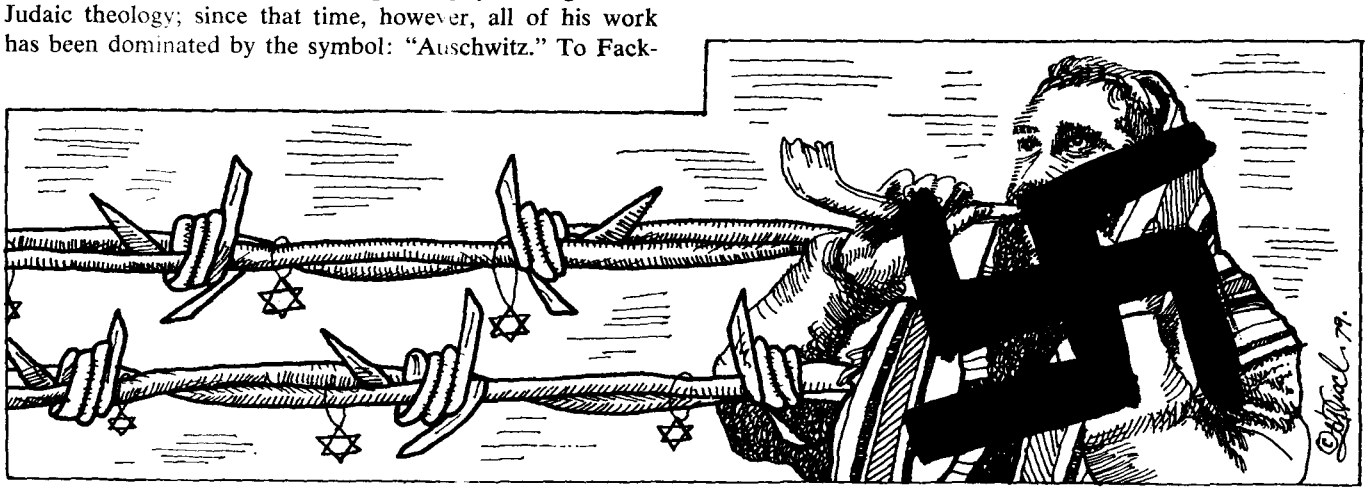
Before the 1967 war, Fackenheim was known as a religious Existentialist and a scholar of Hegel. Writing on Fackenheim in the late 1960s, his biographer in the *Encyclopædia Judaica* declared that Fackenheim's book on Hegel "contains the substance of his ideas on Jewish thought." Fackenheim's other books and essays written before 1970 take up established themes of the philosophy of religion and Judaic theology; since that time, however, all of his work has been dominated by the symbol: "Auschwitz." To Fackenheim is credited the apophthegm, "Let's not hand Hitler any more victories." The practical meaning of that resolution, it is invariably understood, is that Jews should practice Judaism, and Jews and gentiles should support the State of Israel. One of Fackenheim's critics, Michael Wyschogrod, declares that Fackenheim has substituted "the commanding voice of Auschwitz" for the revelation of Sinai, and Hitler for Moses. While this may be somewhat extreme, it contains a measure of truth.

Clearly, something happened to Fackenheim and his audience between the end of the 1950s and the beginning of the 1970s. This was an experience so fundamental as to impart to the massacre of European Jewry a symbolic meaning, self-evident importance, and mythic quality. Jews had been put to death in unimaginably dreadful circumstances. At the time Heschel had laid stress on dignity and faith in the earth which is the Lord's; by the 1970s, matters had so changed that dignity, refinement, and faith were no longer acceptable themes. The messages had shifted over the years; now the events were made to speak of other things, and to people other than the original victims and survivors.

WHAT TURNED an historical event into a powerful symbol of contemporary social action and imagination was a searing shared experience. For millions of Jews, the dreadful weeks before the 1967 war gave a new vitality to the historical record of the years of 1933 to 1945—the war and its result. Before June 5, 1967, the State of Israel appeared to be doomed: surrounded, penned within its constricted frontiers by vast and well-armed enemies. Worse still, the State was abandoned by all its friends, whose commitments (made after the 1956 war) to open the Suez Canal and keep open the Gulf of Eilat/Aqaba had proved worthless.

Now, one of the critical points in the "Holocaust" myth (truth told as story) is that European Jews had no place to go. The world abandons the Jews in their time of doom —*and in 1967 it happened again.*

But the story of the extermination of European Jewry could not serve as the foundation for a usable myth of "Holocaust" without one further component. No myth is serviceable if people cannot make it their own and through it explain their own lives; no story of a life can end in gruesome death. A corollary of "Holocaust," therefore, had to be redemption. The extermination of European Jewry could become "the Holocaust" only on June 10, when, in the



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aftermath of a remarkable victory, the State of Israel celebrated the return of the people of Israel to the ancient wall of the Temple of Jerusalem. On that day the extermination of European Jewry attained the—if not happy, at least viable—ending which served to transform events into a myth, and to endow a symbol with a single, ineluctable meaning.

BUT THIS is still only part of the story. For, once "the Holocaust" had taken shape, its suitability for the purpose of the social imagination still had to be fully exposed. It had to explain more than itself; it had to speak to more people, about more things, than it had at the outset. Certainly American Jews and Israeli Jews could not interpret "the Holocaust" in the same way and for the same purpose, without doing violence to the distinctive context in which each group makes its life.

The place of "the Holocaust" in the civil religion of the State of Israel is easy to understand. It forms a critical element in the public explanation of why there must be a State of Israel, why it must be of its present character and not some other, and why every citizen must be prepared to support the State in peacetime and to fight for it in war. The State, then, forms the complement of "the Holocaust," completing and rendering whole that sundered, pained consciousness represented by the humiliation and degradation of the event itself. For Israelis, the myth of "Holocaust and redemption" provides that core of common truth on the foundation of which a society can be built. That it is self-evidently a true myth to Israelis goes without saying.

For American Jews, then, the myth of "Holocaust and redemption" must prove puzzling. They have not drawn the parallel conclusion—that America is that refuge and hope the European Jews should have had—because America was there in the 1930s and 1940s, and yet offered no refuge and no hope. They could not declare this country to have contributed a fundamentally new chapter to the history of the Jewish people—at least not in the way in which Israelis declared the foundation of the State of Israel to have inaugurated a new and wholly fresh era. So far as the myth of "Holocaust and redemption" enters into the self-understanding of American Jewry, it has to answer different questions from those posed by the creation of a state and the sustenance of a society.

I am inclined to see these questions as two separate and distinct ones, the first addressed to the particular world of the Jews, the second to the world at large. But they are not unrelated, for both of them emerge from the special circumstances of the American of Jewish origin whose grandparents or great-grandparents immigrated to this country. For that sort of American Jew, there is no common and acknowledged core of religious experience by which "being Jewish" may be explained and interpreted. Because antisemitism as a perceived social experience has become less common than it was from the 1920s through the early 1950s, there is also no common core of social alienation to account for the distinctive character of the group and explain why it continues, and must continue, to endure. Indeed, many American Jews, though they continue to affirm their Jewishness, have no clear notion of how they are Jewish, or what their Jewish heritage demands of them. Judaism is, for this critical part of the American Jewish population, merely a reference point, one fact among many. For ideologists of the Jewish community, the most certain answer to the question of the third generation must be, "There is no real choice." And "the Holocaust" provides that answer: "*Hitler* knew you were Jewish."

The formative experiences of "the Holocaust" are now accessible, alas, without learning and without commitment. No person can encounter the events of 1933 to 1945 without entering into them in imagination. It is better to understate the matter. The experience of "the Holocaust" is not something which ended in 1945; it ends when I wake up in the morning, and it is renewed when I go to sleep. And so it is for all of us. These "Judaizing experiences," then, do serve the role Fackenheim has found in them: as Wyschogrod complained, they do take the place of Sinai in nurturing an inner and distinctive consciousness of "being Jewish."

So the first of the two questions before us, the inner one, is the question of who we are, and why we are what we are and not something else. "The Holocaust" is made to answer that question.

THE SECOND is a social question: Who are we in relationship to everybody else? The utility of "the Holocaust" in this context is not difficult to see, once we realize that the TV counterpart to *The Holocaust* is *Roots*. It follows that, for American Jews, "the Holocaust" is that ethnic identity which is available to a group of people so far removed from culturally and socially distinctive characteristics as to be otherwise wholly "assimilated." "The Holocaust" is the Jews' special thing: it is what sets them apart from others while giving them a claim upon those others. That is why Jews insist on "the uniqueness of the Holocaust." If on campus the blacks have soul-food, the Jews will have kosher meals—even if they do not keep the dietary laws under ordinary circumstances. Unstated in this simple equation, *Roots* = *The Holocaust*, is the idea that being Jewish is an ethnic, not primarily a religious, category. For nearly a century American Jews have persuaded themselves and their neighbors that they fall into the religious—and therefore acceptable—category of being "different," and not into the ethnic—and therefore crippling and unwanted—category of being "different." Now that they have no Jewish accent, they are willing to be ethnic.

So a profound inner dilemma and a difficult matter of social differentiation and identification work themselves out within the myth of "Holocaust." As to the "Redemption" chapter of the story, the State of Israel tells the same truths to American as it does to Israeli Jews. But since American Jews do not, and cannot, infer the same consequences from that story of redemption that Israeli Jews must infer, a certain incongruence has arisen between the two versions. After all, it is difficult to speak much about a redemption which we do not really wish to experience. A salvation which works for others and not for oneself is, in the end, not of much value. Thus the "Holocaust" part of the myth tends to play a larger part in this country than it does in the State of Israel.

With these facts in mind, we can readily understand why,

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in appealing for the support of Jewish voters, the White House should turn naturally to the formation of a President's Commission on the Holocaust. I should guess that, if the Armenians were sufficiently numerous and vocal to warrant a President's Commission on something of interest to them, it might well take some form other than a commemoration of the tragedy of 1915 (though I do not know what that might be). Clearly, the blacks want something other than a memorialization of centuries of slavery. They want something for themselves, for today—as well they should: a completely equal share, at the very least, in all that America has to offer. For that purpose, a President's Commission, while a pleasant compliment, is worth much less than CETA, the EEOC, or goals for the federal hiring of blacks ("and other minorities").

And so it goes. As Richard L. Rubenstein, a brilliant Judaic theologian of whose thought "the Holocaust" forms the critical center, says in this context, "The most appropriate American memorial to the victims of the Holocaust ought to be a national effort for the understanding of large-scale political injustice and violence." For the issue, properly phrased, of the destruction of European Jewry is the human issue of our unhappy century: how to nurture, in an age of disintegration and destruction, that inwardness, compassion, justice, and holiness in which we perceive whatever is infinite in ourselves. □

Memoirs of a Dissident Publisher
By Henry Regnery
Harcourt Brace, 260 pp., $12.95

MEMOIRS OF AN UNSUNG HERO

M. J. SOBRAN

This book acquired a terribly ironic epilogue after it was printed. Having given his life to losing causes, Henry Regnery confesses toward the end of *Memoirs of a Dissident Publisher* that he has always lacked the tragic sense of life. "Life has probably treated me too well for me to develop a philosophy of my own. . . . That our Maker feels kindly toward us, his creatures, the music of Bach and Mozart would be for me sufficient evidence, if there were not much more."

Then, in Chicago's disastrous DC-10 crash, he lost two key men in his little firm. One of them was his son Henry.

Young Henry did his father proud, and spoke proudly of him. Whether or not he lived to see this book in print, he surely knew its contents. They are ennobling. Henry Regnery Sr. is one of the unsung heroes of the conservative movement, playing a thankless, inglorious, financially precarious role in seeing to it that some of the seminal books of conservative thought got into print at all.

In publishing as in few other lines of endeavor, virtue is pretty much its own reward. Regnery's father cautioned him, "If you ever begin to make any money in that business you are going into, you can be pretty sure that you are publishing the wrong kind of books." After studying engineering at MIT and economics at Harvard, Regnery, an ardent young New Dealer, spent a disillusioning summer in Washington working in the Resettlement Administration. He also spent two years in Germany, absorbing its culture, when Hitler's new regime was still background noise. In the Forties, after a brief stint in his father's textile business, he got into publishing by something like accident.

He met Frank Hanighen, who, with Felix Morley, was about to launch the newsletter (as it originally was) *Human Events*. In association with them he arranged to publish pamphlets from his Chicago home. But they couldn't maintain actual editorial control over such a distance, and his operation became independent. After the war he put out a few books critical of the Allies' occupation policies in Germany, which weren't a large improvement on American policy toward Japanese-Americans in California. For a time he tried to claim nonprofit status for his company, but the IRS nixed that—without instructing him, however, in the ways of making profits. In order to appease market forces on IRS terms, he was forced to supplement books defending the market with occasional offerings like *The White Sox Year Book*.

For the rest, it was an adventure. He introduced writers like Russell Kirk and William Buckley; imported for the first time Max Picard, Raymond Aron, and Romano Guardini; published unfashionable books by Charles Beard, Victor Gollancz, Wyndham Lewis, and Ezra Pound when other publishers were afraid to touch them; brought out surefire non-best-sellers like a three-volume edition of Thomas Aquinas' all-but-unavailable masterpiece *On Truth*. His other authors included Morley, James Burnham, Willmoore Kendall, James Jackson Kilpatrick, Frank Meyer, and John Dos Passos.

The book abounds in anecdotes of these men and the circumstances of their publication. Lest their books be forgotten, Regnery gives concise summaries of them, full of memorable short passages. The Regnery name became a red flag to liberal reviewers, who could be counted on to snub or abuse with fair regularity any book bearing it. He quotes many of these reviews, so damaging to both his firm and the causes he served, and thereby achieves, at least, dramatic historical vindication: his authors maintained a remarkable level of prescience about everything from Soviet behavior to the future of Social Security.

Even his successes had perverse consequences. *God and Man at Yale* created a national sensation, but it moved the Great Books Foundation to break its contract with Regnery, wiping out profits from the book and a sustaining backlist of classics in the process. A book of photographs of Palestinian refugees resulted in an FBI "investigation."

Regnery devotes a whole chapter to Russell Kirk and *The Conservative Mind*—a book that has undeservedly gone out of fashion even among conservatives, but is clearly close to its

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publisher's heart. The most colorful chapters deal with other conservatives, notably Kendall, and with four great men of letters: Campbell, Lewis, Eliot, and Pound, who remarked to him: "One must find a way to admit one's mistakes without throwing away the glimmering of truth one has managed to acquire in making them." Such moments, and there are many of them, make Regnery's autobiography a valuable document on the life of the conservative mind. □

The Sea, the Sea
By Iris Murdoch
Viking, 502 pp., $10.95

PLAYING THE GAME

JUDITH CHETTLE

Reading an Iris Murdoch novel is rather like attempting the London *Times* crossword puzzle. Both require something other than a common-sense approach, for nothing is ever quite what it at first appears to be: the seemingly obvious is really intricate and complex, and the apparently obscure turns out to be disappointingly commonplace. It is the looking-glass world that English intellectuals tend to relish: a clever world with a special game that only clever people can play. Lewis Carroll's *Alice* books are perhaps the best example of this marriage between verbal agility and logical legerdemain.

Iris Murdoch has been described as the best British woman novelist writing today, a judgment which is probably correct but is not necessarily the praise it appears to be. She is a philosopher by training—a sort of training that can encourage the discounting of empirical experience in favor of illusion, if illusion is supported by some theory. Her novels are, in fact, distinguished by a strong element of fantasy, though of a more disciplined and less extravagant sort than that of a much lesser contemporary, John Fowles.

Her most recent novel, *The Sea, the Sea*, partakes fully of the clever writing, the convoluted plots, the tangle of relationships among characters, and the touches of surrealism that are characteristic of her writing. It is a world of distorted reflections, like those seen in a soap bubble that has caught the light.

Charles Arrowby, the narrator of the story, is a recently retired director and producer, playwright and one-time actor. He is a clever man, aware to some degree of his limitations, but with strong opinions on many subjects: food (only a fool despises tomato ketchup); wine (not vintage, for it destroys one's palate for cheap wine); the theater; Shakespeare; and women (none of whom has ever compared with his first love, Hartley, idealized but lost). Having bought a beautifully sited but rather ugly house on the English coast, Arrowby moves there determined to live simply and quietly and write an account of his life—not a memoir exactly but, following Wordsworth, a "recollection in tranquillity." This is not to be. The quiet and simple scene is no sooner set than the past begins to intrude, at first in random ways, then more dramatically and violently. There is the same acceleration of events ending in revelation and catharsis which occurs in the last act of many plays.

The cast is large and varied: two former lovers, both actresses, who arrive determined to stay; an out-of-work homosexual actor who has followed one of the women, with whom he has been sharing a home; an unacknowledged son; Arrowby's great love, Hartley, now a cowed and dowdy old woman, and her brutish husband, Ben; a cousin Arrowby has always envied; and a cuckolded Irish actor bent on revenge. Not in residence but ever present to Arrowby are the memories of his father and mother and a beautiful Aunt Estelle. All these characters, actual and remembered, are at the house over the Whitsun weekend ready for and anticipating a denouement.

As a director who was famous for his special effects—he once directed a thriller which began with an empty stage and an electrifying long scream from the wings—Arrowby tries now to direct events, but he is the one who is ultimately surprised and appalled by what the reality was and is. (Or seems to be: for the actual world is always elusive in Miss Murdoch's writing.)

Acting as a co-director is the sea that lies so close to Arrowby's house. It is the moods of the sea that give an underlying unity to the book, moods that are in tune with what is happening on land. But the sea is also a rival that can direct events independently—beguiling, wounding, terrifying, even killing. It is the sea that at last confounds Arrowby, sending him back to London freed (in part, at least) from the illusions he has long and carefully nurtured. Even his adored Hartley has been shown to be something quite different from what he had imagined.

George Orwell once described English fiction on its higher levels as for the most part written by literary gents about literary gents and for literary gents. Such writing is inhibited and at times even dishonest, for what is always of primary importance is apparent brilliance and style, surfaces that dazzle but do not invite any digging to discover more solid underpinnings. Iris Murdoch belongs to this group, writes about them and, one suspects, for them. The result is a sparkling and diverting performance, which we can heartily applaud; but one soon hungers, as one does after completing the *Times* puzzle, for more filling fare. □

FILM

THE SOIL AND THE SOILED

JOHN SIMON

Ermanno Olmi, the Italian filmmaker, has made at least three pictures I rate among the finest I know: *Il posto* (*The Job*, but distributed under the asinine title *The Sound of Trumpets*), *The Fiancés*, and *One Fine Day*. I have not seen his first film, *Time Stood Still*, about which I hear good things; his later work ranges from interesting to disappointing, including one whopping fiasco about Pope John. Olmi is something of an anomaly among Italian directors, almost all of whom are more or less Left-oriented urban non-believers, and all of whom are based in Rome. Olmi, however, has remained close to

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his peasant origins, lives in Milan, and is a good Catholic.

Paradoxically, Olmi's films have been most honored in the Iron Curtain countries. In the West, he is relatively little known; in Italy, where his films make no money, even informed moviegoers know his work only spottily, and then mostly from television. But Olmi goes on pursuing his own teleological vision, his personal muse; he writes his own scripts, works with amateur actors, and is his own cinematographer and editor. Even when his films miscarry, there is an infectious honesty and commitment in them; his respect for people and life remains unshakable, without lapsing into sentimentality or preachment. So, at least, it was until now.

I was overjoyed to learn that his three-hour-and-five-minute work *The Tree of Wooden Clogs* won the grand prize at Cannes last year; finally, I thought, Olmi will have the commercial success that will make him bankable. (I also thought, incidentally, that the redundant and clumsy English translation of the film's title was a pity—it should be simply *The Clog Tree*, although, in English, that too lacks evocativeness and euphony.) Upon seeing the film, however, I must regretfully pronounce it an earnest, well-meaning failure.

THIS IS THE story of a year in the lives of some four or five turn-of-the-century families of sharecroppers on a rich man's estate near Bergamo. Two-thirds of what they earn with hard, long labor goes to the landlord. The film records their victories and defeats, work and leisure, fights and mutual support. A woman gives birth to yet another child to feed; a timid courtship ends in marriage and the (somewhat incredible) adoption of an orphan; a bright son is sent off to school despite his father's doubts about its seemliness for a peasant boy, and despite the boy's having to walk several miles to school and back every day. The two main events are the boy's breaking one of his clogs, which necessitates his father's chopping down one of the landlord's willows to carve a new pair of wooden shoes; and the discovery of this act, which leads to the family's expulsion from the farmstead while the other families, watching glumly from their windows, do not even dare to come out and offer a parting gift of sympathy.

There are some nice vignettes: the shrewd but sympathetic parish priest

dispensing a widowed washerwoman, the overworked mother of six, from regular attendance at Mass; a canny grandfather teaching his granddaughter how to grow early tomatoes and beat out the competition; a father and son getting into absurd fights over the former's stinginess; a wedding trip by boat to Milan, where the young couple, amazed but unmoved, watches the quashing of an uprising. But although such things are respectfully observed and conscientiously depicted, they are not enough to relieve the mounting tedium. There is something seriously wrong with a three-hour movie whose most dramatic moments record the slaughter of a pig. To be sure, the killing and dismembering of so intelligent, so human an animal as a pig briefly endows the film with the unholy fascination of a snuff movie; still, in more than three hours there ought to be something to equal or surpass the impact of this scene.

Well, the only other spectacular event is the curing of the widow's cow, one of the very few beasts that do not belong to the beastly landlord. After the veterinarian has pronounced the cow incurable and suggested immediate slaughter to recover at least a few coppers, the desperate widow makes a hymn-singing pilgrimage to the local shrine, prays heart-rendingly to a horrendous statue of the tortured Jesus, and fetches back holy water which she pours down the throat of the moribund animal. Sure enough, the cow revives. I am not sold on the miraculous in life or art, and I am particularly doubtful about so bovine a miracle.

Speaking of which, the cast itself is not a little bovine. In previous films, Olmi's amateurs were city-dwellers, for whom histrionics were part of everyday urban life. But to this cast of authentic Bergamasque peasants, stolidity is what comes naturally. Hence even as pretty a girl as Lucia Pezzoli—the fiancée and, later, bride—becomes boring well before her limited screen time runs out. The fact that the language spoken is the harsh Lombard dialect rather than the *dolce stil nuovo* of Tuscany adds aural insult to visual injury. Moreover, there are just too many insufficiently developed or even differentiated characters for us to get them straight, let alone become and remain involved with them. And the Catholicism is laid on so thick throughout that, whether or not a historically accurate portrayal, it left me identifying myself with that force-fed cow. Surviving the three hours of *The Tree of Wooden Clogs* is a bit of a miracle in its own right.

The most revelatory thing about the film is the fact that political events are barely noticed and not at all understood by the characters. In this respect, as well as in its avoidance of any kind of attitudinizing, *Tree* is obviously an answer to Bertolucci's odious *1900*. But falling into Charybdis is not the way to avoid Scylla. For all its beautifully understated color photography (was Millet the model?), its solemn but inappropriate Bach organ music on the soundtrack, its occasional *trouvailles*, such as revolution seen only as puffs of gunfire clouding the crest of hillocks, and its solicitous editing, Olmi's film strikes me as a devoted, devout dud. But let me hope that its acclaim will enable its maker to turn out more films along the lines of his marvelous early work.

This summer may go down in cinema history as the summer of the horror movies, but none of these can match Barbra Streisand and her latest offering, *The Main Event*. The screenplay, mothered by Gail Parent and forged by Andrew Smith, is a set of absurd contradictions meant to make Streisand appear simultaneously tough, vulnerable, witty, deliciously screwy, brilliant, lovably dumb, skillful, fumbling, feminine, butch, and everything else plus its opposite. It attempts to make both a shark and a goldfish out of a nasty little piranha. Miss Streisand has never looked uglier or acted worse than in this movie co-produced by herself and her husband, which, even in its attitude

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toward cinematic man-woman relations, cannot make up its non-mind whether the time is 1940 or 1979.

The story concerns a cosmetics millionairess who, suddenly penniless, finds her only asset to be the contract of a worthless boxer (Ryan O'Neal, intended as a tax loss for the heroine, and a dead loss as an actor), a chap who prefers running a driving school built in the shape of a giant boxing glove to getting his pretty face mauled in the ring. By a mixture of shrewdness and happy ineptitude, impudence and alleged charm, Streisand gets O'Neal to become a) a terrific fighter, b) her lover, and c) a quitter who gives up boxing on the verge of triumph to turn into Barbra's undented love object—though I should think that dodging that formidable nose in a clinch might be harder than evading the mightiest uppercut. I leave it to you to determine which of those three plot developments is most preposterous. There is decent supporting work from Paul Sand, Whitman Mayo, and Patti D'Arbanville; Howard Zieff, who nominally directed, cannot be held responsible: directing Streisand must be like trying to get a rogue elephant to cross a street on the green light. □

The GIMLET EYE

DRIVE? HE SAID

D. KEITH MANO

"Andy. It's Keith. I had—oh—a little accident."

"Uh-huh."

"I backed into another car. In a parking lot."

"And it was the only other car there. And it was a big parking lot."

"I didn't say that."

"No, but that's what happened."

(Pause.) "How did you know?"

"If there were two cars you might've glanced out your rear window. Dummy. I know drivers. I always tack a fifty-point deductible on any driver's IQ."

"It was a small car."

"I know—and it was stationary. And it didn't give fair warning."

"All right. All right. All right."

Andrew Vanacore has been an insurance agent for thirty years. (And my cousin for somewhat longer than that.) He's one of the two or three best around: suede-spoken as an FM announcer, patient, available, thorough: no atmospheric inversion could cover you better. Andy has forked my suet out of fires more often than a short-order cook: and he'll do the same for people with no blood connection. Also, the self-righteous SOB has never had an automobile accident. I play poker with Andy. When he raises, I fold. Could be he's bluffing: but it's a bad risk: that particular premium, I've learned, doesn't pay off. Before you hire any accountant or surgeon, sit down at a poker table with him. If you can beat him, probably your 1040 or your appendix can, too.

After all that time, Cousin has been third party to more auto mishaps than a hundred-man pit crew. The list I append below is not fictitious. Every item has been excerpted from an actual accident report. This is how we perceive ourselves as that Other Person: *Homo vehiculus*: MAN BEHIND THE WHEEL.

An invisible car came out of nowhere, struck my vehicle, and vanished.

Coming home, I drove into the wrong house and collided with a tree I didn't have.

The other car collided with me without giving warning of its intentions.

The guy was all over the road. I had to swerve a number of times before I hit him.

The accident happened when the right front door of a car came around the corner without giving a signal.

I collided with a stationary truck coming the other way.

I had been driving for forty years, when I fell asleep at the wheel and had the accident.

I was on my way to the doctor's with rear-end trouble when my universal joint gave way causing me to have an accident.

The accident occurred when I was attempting to bring my car out of a skid by steering it into the other vehicle.

As I reached an intersection, a hedge sprang up obscuring my vision.

I was backing my car out of the driveway in the usual manner when it was struck by the other car in the same place it had been struck before.

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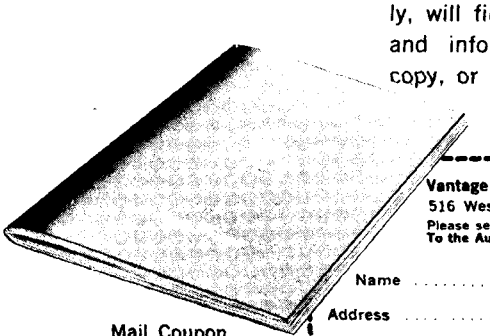

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A truck backed through the windshield into my wife's face.

I told the police that I was not injured but, on removing my hat, I found that I had a fractured skull.

I thought my window was down, but found it was up when I put my hand through it.

I was thrown from my car as it left the road. I was later found in the ditch by some stray cows.

When I saw I could not avoid a collision, I stepped on the gas and crashed into the other car.

The telephone pole was approaching fast. I was attempting to swerve out of its path when it struck my front end.

The pedestrian had no idea which direction to go. So I ran over him.

I pulled away from the side of the road, glanced at my mother-in-law, and went over the bank.

I had been learning to drive with power steering. I turned the wheel to what I thought was enough and found myself in a different direction going the opposite way.

As I approached the intersection, a stop sign suddenly appeared in a place where no stop sign had ever appeared before. I was unable to stop in time to avoid the accident.

No one was to blame for the accident, but it would never have happened if the other driver had been alert.

A pedestrian hit me and went under my car.

DRIVING, you note, can affect syntax. In a car the subject will become the object. Pedestrian strikes bumper; berserk telephone pole attacks. Naturally a desire for self-exoneration is operative here; nonetheless, inside that hard machine, passiveness novocaines us all. Not me: the car did it. Or worse: movement turns relative. "I collided with a stationary truck coming the other way." Your auto doesn't progress: it draws the earth under it like a hamster on one of those circular treadmills. We are used to being audience: uncommitted watcher. Windshields are some sort of TV screen (it's all a big drive-in theater). At the moment of shock, we will transmute event into fantasy. And there can be no guilt.

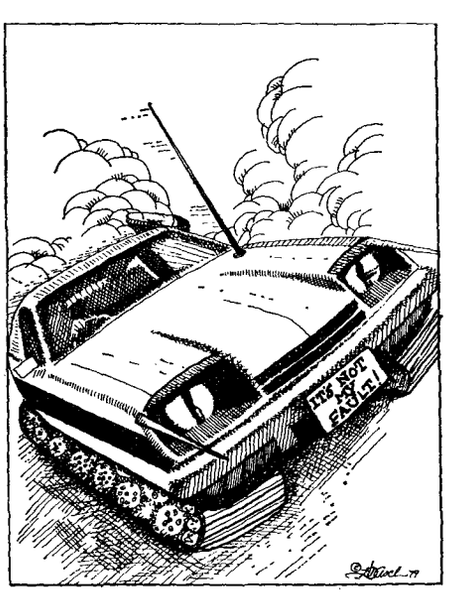
In fact, driving is too simple. If I can hack it, anyone can. Tell you the truth: I read while I drive: always. Get in the right lane, deadfoot double nickels, and put a book up on my steering wheel. I measure speed by PPM: pages per mile. Dangerous? Yes—but less dangerous, by far, than trying to keep alert in a yeast-boring cockpit. This way I check my mirror at the end of each sentence. (Henry James is perilous; and I steer clear of WFB entirely: you can travel blind from Monticello to Callicoon on one parenthetical phrase.) If Detroit really cared for our health, they'd design a more complicated car: switches, dials, chokes, clutches, four extra pedals. Something the heck to *do*.

Well, I can forewrite my own accident report: "A large tree charged recklessly from the roadside. It struck head-on, causing me to lose my place." □

BOOKS IN BRIEF

A DANGEROUS PLACE, *by Daniel Patrick Moynihan, with Suzanne Weaver (Little, Brown, 297 pp., $12.95).* The cacophonous and largely irrelevant institution known as the United Nations will never quite be the same after Daniel Patrick Moynihan's performance as American Ambassador. Who, in recent years, besides Solzhenitsyn, has stirred those who cherish Western values as Moynihan has? His style at the UN was not one of bellicose confrontation nor of unprincipled demagogy, as some have charged, but rather a *principled* response to totalitarian lies and to scurrilous men in search of a scapegoat. An outspoken man espousing an irreducible philosophical position cannot but make enemies. Moynihan offended the egalitarians, and the invertebrates at the State Department; he inspired contempt in such as Pamela Harriman, Ivor Richard, and Olof Palme. Whether Moynihan is labeled a neo-conservative or a liberal is of little consequence. He is certainly not a no-enemies-to-the-left liberal; a liberal—one who holds liberty dear—must have enemies on the left, he asserts, for it is from there that the most ignominious and sustained assault on human freedom has arisen. Perhaps Moynihan is a little too sanguine about the prospects of influencing the course of events in the Third World. He propounds an ill-defined dualism on this matter; he is pessimistic about the current state of affairs, noting that there are only about two dozen democracies in the world and that authoritarianism is quite the norm in the Third World. But he sees great hope in that congeries of mostly new nations, and he believes that they will ultimately cast off the baser aspects of their European socialist inheritance and move closer to the West. (Present trends easily invite dissent.) Deploring the fact that bilateral relations are the prevailing mode in U.S. diplomacy, Moynihan convincingly argues for multilateral relations with those countries where there is not an overriding reason for bilateral ties. Moynihan believes that the multilateral mode would shake up the status quo and lessen the tendency for policy to become the preserve of one man (an ambassador) whose chief concern is for cordiality. But *A Dangerous Place* is above all a book about ideas, about the UN and international order, political philosophy and political reality; and it is revealing of the man who wrote it—of his concern for liberty and Western values, and of his deep learning.

GORDON HANSON



MESSENGERS OF DAY, *by Anthony Powell (Holt, Rinehart, 209 pp., $10.95).* I now begin to understand how so many people have got hooked on Anthony Powell's mammoth *Dance to the Music of Time.* That work is a multi-volume series of novels; Powell's work currently in progress is a multi-volume series of memoirs, of which *Messengers of Day* is the second installment. When I read the first volume of the set, *Infants of the Spring*, a year or so ago, I found many of his experiences fascinating but was put off by some oddities of style. Powell's style hasn't changed in the interim, and yet when I picked up *Messengers of Day* it was like starting to read a long, chatty letter from an old friend. As I had hoped, Powell dwells here, a bit more than in the previous volume, on his dealings with Evelyn Waugh. He reintroduces us to another old friend, Henry Lamb, whom I had first run across in accounts of the Bloomsbury group. In that period, Lamb was being pursued pathetically and unsuccessfully (Lamb being a thorough-going heterosexual) by Lytton Strachey. When Powell met him twenty

(Continues on page 986)

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Dark Horses

M. STANTON EVANS

IN ITS GLOBAL strategy of undermining pro-Western nations, the Carter Administration has probably devoted more energy to the destruction of Rhodesia than to any other single project.

The pretext for this hostility has been that the government of Ian Smith was undemocratic and therefore properly subject to economic sanctions and tacit U.S. backing for the Soviet-backed guerrillas invading the country from Zambia and Mozambique.

Whatever semblance of logic the Carter position might have had effectively vanished with the recent elections that shifted power from the white minority to the black majority. The President, Ambassador Andrew Young, and their congressional allies have tried to portray the elections as unfair and fraudulent, by way of justifying continued pressure on Rhodesia. Unfortunately for the Carter regime, this stance goes directly counter to the testimony of virtually every Western observer on the scene.

Consider, for instance, *The Report of the Freedom House Mission* (20 W 40th St., New York, N.Y. 10018; $3) presenting the conclusions of the organization's election-observer team. Freedom House, of course, is the respected moderate-to-liberal group, headed by former Senator Clifford Case of New Jersey, that monitors the condition of human rights throughout the world. Its delegation to Rhodesia included civil-rights leader Bayard Rustin, columnist Roscoe Drummond, former congressman Allard K. Lowenstein, political scientist Howard Penniman, and five other highly qualified observers.

The conclusion of the Freedom House report, in a nutshell, is that the election was indeed free and fair. The nine-member team visited more than one hundred polling places, conducted hundreds of interviews with voters, and minutely observed the circumstances of the election. From these observations, they deduce that the impressively large turnout (officially estimated at 64 per cent of the eligible electorate) was spontaneous, fairly counted, and an authentic step toward majority rule.

A similar verdict is arrived at in *The Rhodesian Election: An Eyewitness Account*, published by the American Conservative Union (316 Pennsylvania Ave., S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003; $1). On this one I must confess a flagrant conflict of interest, since I was a member of the ACU observer team and a co-author of the document in question. Our four-member group, which included former congressman Howard Pollock, columnist Smith Hempstone, and former Agency for International Development official Byron Engle, visited 36 polling places, interviewed 156 voters, and conducted more than two hundred other interviews during the eight days that we spent in Rhodesia.

In general, our conclusions were the same as those arrived at by Freedom House: we found balloting procedures to be carefully followed, observed that Rhodesian blacks wanted to participate, and discovered no evidence that the security forces were intimidating voters. On the other hand, we found plenty of evidence that Communist-backed guerrillas had threatened people with reprisals if they dared to cast their ballots.

A THIRD REPORT confirming these observations is *The Election in Zimbabwe-Rhodesia*, published by the Institute of American Relations (325 Constitution Avenue, N.E., Washington, D.C. 20002; $1). The IAR group, consisting of former congressman Charles Brownson, Elvira Orly, Belden Bell, and Dr. Richard McCormack, followed the same drill as the Freedom House and ACU teams, conducting hundreds of interviews and monitoring procedures affecting the security and spontaneity of balloting. They, too, conclude that the election was honestly conducted. Thus 17 American observers of varying political persuasions say the election was free and fair; President Carter and Andy Young, neither of whom was there, insist it was a fake. □

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BRIEFS

(Continued from page 984)

years later, he was, not precisely settling down—that would imply being more calm and staid than Lamb ever was—but entering into a joyful domesticity with Powell's future sister-in-law. Powell's account of life at Duckworth's, a publisher straight out of the pages of Dickens, is particularly nice ("The accountant himself, a stunted troglodyte, . . . caused concern at about this time by uttering strange animal cries from behind the closed door of the tiny cell where he totted up the royalties, and, long years at Duckworth's having affected his brain, he had to be removed in an ambulance"). There are brief encounters with Tallulah Bankhead (enchanting) and Burgess and Maclean (far creepier than most present-day accounts like to remember them). I look forward to Volume III.

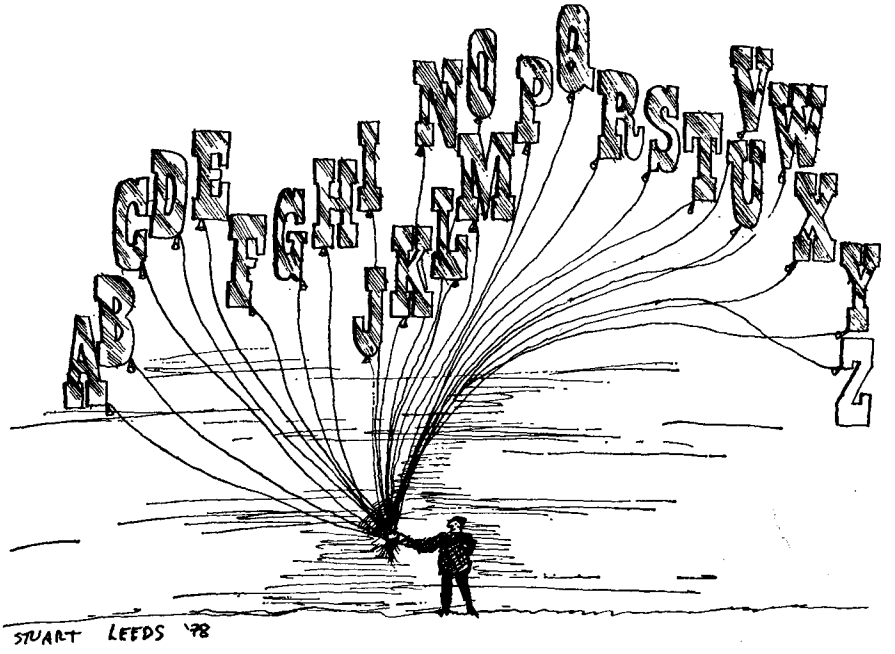
LINDA BRIDGES

A PORTRAIT OF ISAAC NEWTON, *by Frank E. Manuel (New Republic Books, 478 pp., $19.95).* Einstein, they say, kept only one portrait on his study wall—Newton's—and that is understandable. For two centuries Newton's laws made the physical universe comprehensible, and for all practical purposes they still do. Einstein, a humble man, stood in awe of Newton's soaring imagination and the beauty of the differential calculus he invented to prove his propositions. Newton had little humility and less love for his fellows—least of all for those from Kepler and Galileo to Leibniz, Descartes, and Hooke, on whose foundations the *Principia* was established. He brooked no competition. He wanted to be God. And it is the biographical genius of Frank Manuel to have made Newton's personality comprehensible for the first time, and even—through miraculous identification with his eccentric, tormented subject, and through the most profound and gracefully deployed scholarship—lovable. There is no way in a review of this length to show how the author has accomplished so much. But every reader curious to know how one of the great triumphs of the human intellect emerged from a psyche so damaged, and in an age so devoted to frivolity and superstition, is urged to read this book.

SELDEN RODMAN

BROCA'S BRAIN, *by Carl Sagan (Random House, 347 pp., $12.95).* Carl Sagan's new book is a collection of essays written for a variety of journals. Not surprisingly, the quality of the individual pieces fluctuates. Sagan, at his best, is a lucid, logical writer with a gift for explaining science to the layman and infecting the reader with his own boundless enthusiasm and curiosity. These qualities are particularly in evidence in his essays on ancient astronauts, UFOs astral projection, and other "nonsense at the edge of science." A sensible and witty refutation of these ridiculous but ever-popular ideas by a respected scientist has been long overdue. In a lengthy tour de force of careful reasoning, Dr. Sagan performs another public service by giving the first comprehensive answer to Velikovsky's *Worlds in Collision.* Here he is exceptional, marshaling his facts and taking apart Velikovsky's theory point by point. Sagan is on less firm ground when speculating on semi-philosophical topics, and the reaction to several pieces in this book must regrettably be one of surprise that he bothered to write them at all, much less include them in a collection. But that should not deter us from enjoying the better essays and learning from one of the best scientist-writers we have.

MAUREEN BODO



VAN DEN HAAG

(Continued from page 973)

Childs, "will present the keynote address," according to the invitation. No speaker from *Reason* magazine is advertised.

The invitation asks, "Who better to speak on 'The Future of Liberty' than Mr. Libertarian, Murray Rothbard?" and continues, "Dr. Rothbard is without question the father of the modern libertarian movement . . ." Who am I to doubt the representativeness of the man libertarians label "the father of the modern libertarian movement"? I hate to distress Tibor Machan and other friends, who insist on calling themselves libertarians while protesting that they do not share the views sold under that label by Rothbard, *Inquiry*, the Cato Institute, *The Libertarian Review*, etc. They do have a labeling problem; but I cannot be blamed for it. Machan is not called "Mr. Libertarian." Rothbard is. None of my friends has been labeled "the father of the modern libertarian movement" by the managers of that movement. Rothbard has been. His views and policies are representative of the libertarian movement. Those of *Reason* magazine, far more moderate, often even reasonable, are not.

HENRY HAZLITT complains that statists stole the label "liberal," whereupon he had the good sense to stop calling himself liberal. Leftist anarchists now have stolen "libertarian." Hazlitt should recognize the *fait accompli*—words change their meaning. So should Machan and friends. (A good case for the private litigation they believe in?)

Hazlitt accuses me of "pragmatism" (not guilty) for wanting to decide policy issues "case by case" on the merits, and "not on the basis of principle." I doubt that this is more than a verbal difference. "Principle" is what we learn from cases, and cases cannot be decided without principles. My point was that libertarians pay too little attention to experience and think they can solve a problem by prating about natural rights.

Hazlitt is right when he says that "central banking can be used as an instrument of inflation." Wine can be used to get drunk; but it needn't be so used. And inflation can occur without central banking. Unlike Hazlitt, I don't think that Rothbard's *Man, Economy, and State* is the "finest contribution to

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economics since . . . *Human Action*." It is ingenious, but uneven and often just silly. Even Hazlitt sometimes nods.

ALAN REYNOLDS uncharacteristically offers prolix contentiousness and little content. He strings together irrelevant quotations and seems vastly out of his depth. His view that "*Reason* has probably the fairest claim to representing the mainstream of libertarian thought" is wishful thinking. But he is right in suspecting that I do not share Hayek's definition of law. Why is this relevant to my point, which was that libertarians reject law, whether in Hayek's or my definition? I do not "equate" "law, tradition, and society with state coercion" —only law requires coersion (but "equate"?). I did not accuse Rothbard, let alone Machan, of Communism. I charged Rothbard—emphatically not Machan—with favoring an unsavory alliance, and with imitating Communist tactics. The evidence I presented is not rebutted by refuting charges I did not make. There is no point in responding to so much pointless confusion.

DAVID FRIEDMAN'S belief in natural rights surprised me. (Sorry.) His commendation of his *Machinery of Freedom* is less surprising. But it is the cleverest presentation of a silly thesis, and I recommend it too. I do not think David's article on Icelandic history, its historiographic merit aside, shows anything relevant to libertarianism. History can be interpreted in many ways.

WHY PROFESSOR KIRZNER thinks that I "endorse Mises reluctantly and half heartedly" beats me, since I did not endorse (or disendorse) Mises at all. And why Kirzner accuses me of "fuzzy 'mixed economy' economics" only he knows. Why does he quote me as writing something I never wrote (or could have written)? Misinterpretation is one thing. Misquotation is another. I hope "Austrian economics" does not always imply the deficient reading comprehension displayed in Kirzner's letter.

I am sorry about my Austrian footnote, which is not really germane to my topic. (The editors of *NR*, who counseled dropping it, were right—I was unduly stubborn.) However, economics is as much a positive science as is physics, and no more "Austrian" than physics is "Jewish." I have learned much from Austrians, such as Menger and Boehm-Bawerk, or, for that matter, Hayek and Schumpeter. I learned no less from Walras or Marshall, without believing in "Swiss" or "English" economics, and from Friedman *père* without favoring "American" economics. Economics is a contemporary science—not a series of historical "schools."

IF LIBERTARIANISM involves no more than Jefferson and Madison, as John Hospers believes, then Rothbard is no libertarian, and I am. Hospers should explain that to him, not to me. I wrote that some libertarians wish to replace punishment with restitution, but I made it quite clear that many, including Rothbard, believe in private retribution. I did not here criticize Hospers' view (which I do not share), having already done so elsewhere (*American Political Science Review*, March 1979, p. 198) and having no wish to repeat myself. This goes as well for Nozick's *Anarchy, State, and Utopia* (which I reviewed in *NR*, July 4, 1975), trotted out by nearly everybody.

I am disappointed by the evasiveness of the letters. None seriously tried to defend the views I criticized—or, for that matter, any specifically libertarian views. Saying "you don't believe in the free market," or "I don't agree with Rothbard," scarcely constitutes a defense of libertarianism. None was offered. □

MOYNIHAN

(Continued from page 966)

If, then, the matter is not resolved beforehand, I would suggest that in 1980 it ought not to be enough for candidates simply to indicate a warm disposition toward a popular cause. Candidates who wish to be understood as favoring some form of aid should be expected to say just what form they intend, and *then* to say that they will press the matter through Congress in order that it may be tested in the Supreme Court. They should be asked to specify that they will not use the constitutional question as an excuse to avoid the question of public policy.

It seems to me that this is a reasonable expectation. It may be that when it is put in this manner no candidate will want to be associated with support for non-public schools. In which event, fair enough. It is an important issue, and very much an urban issue. (I hap-

(Continues on page 989)

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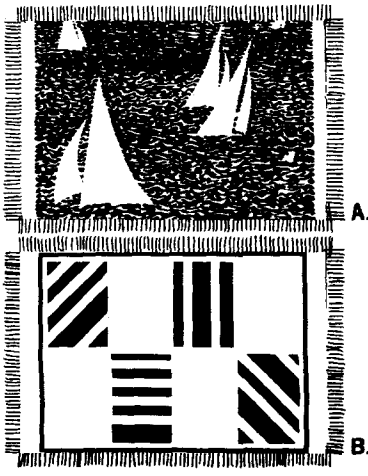

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MOYNIHAN

(Continued from page 987)

pen, for example, to think the survival of the Catholic school system in New York City is essential to the future of the city.)

This would scarcely be the only issue in an election, and I would certainly hope that it does not join that growing list of "single issues." If we are disappointed, so be it. But that is better than being misled. There is too much of that: probably always has been, but there is no point settling down to a kind of agreed-upon deception such as is practiced in the quadrennial pledge to repeal the Taft-Hartley Act.

The springs of democracy should run clear. We have rather muddied them in this matter, and should do better.

Finally, I would hope we all might be a bit more ecumenical on this issue than we have been. There are those who just don't like church-related schools and aren't going to change their minds. But many more persons are genuinely worried as to what might happen to the public schools if aid is provided to what they see as a competing system. (They deserve answers, just as we do.)

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WM. F. BUCKLEY JR.

Double Thought

On The Right

New York, July 12—The Weber decision of the Supreme Court is classic in its confrontation between sociological engineering and law. The majority of the Court, looking at the text of a law written only 15 years ago, rewrote that law to say that which it would like it to mean. The dissenters (Burger and Rehnquist) reminded their brethren in tones of desperation of something called the separation of powers. Let us go back to 1964.

In 1964, the great Civil Rights Act was passed, Title VII of which forbade any private employer from racial discrimination in handing out jobs.

Now that Act was opposed by a minority, most prominently by Senator Goldwater. His opposition was strictly constitutional. Just as the American Civil Liberties Union cannot be accused of endorsing Nazism when it defends the rights of the lunatic fringe in Skokie, Illinois, Senator Goldwater could not conscionably be criticized as a racist for maintaining that the Constitution does not vest in the Congress the right to tell employers that they may never discriminate—on any grounds; though in fact Goldwater *was* thus criticized by the polemical opportunists.

BUT NOW the Court has held that in saying that employers cannot discriminate on account of race, what Congress really meant to say was that employers cannot discriminate on account of *blackness*. But if that is what they meant to say, the dissenters asked, why didn't they say it? Judge Rehnquist appealed to the meaning of language, to the structure of thought. "Were Congress to act today specifically to prohibit the type of racial discrimination suffered by Weber, it would be hard pressed to draft language better tailored to the task than that found in Sec. 703 (d) of Title VII." The judge proceeded to quote the language of the statute, which is about as ambiguous as "John hit the baseball."

Ah, said the majority, to be sure. But don't you see, the whole *purpose* of the Civil Rights Act was to help the Negro population. And you can't do this without affirmative action, even though that means discriminating against people on account of—race.

Not all the civil rights folk were overjoyed by the decision. The black lobbies, of course, were: as also the AFL-CIO, which was the defendant in the case, Mr. Weber having sued alleging that his seniority under the union rules entitled him to preference in hiring. But Leonard Walentynowicz, an attorney for the Polish-American Congress, was quoted: "Our position has always been that we believe in affirmative action, but we believe it should be available to all minorities, not certain select groups." An interesting point. Did your father flee Poland where he was persecuted? Did you grow up in a Polish ghetto, struggling to learn the English language? Come to the front of the line.

The Anti-Defamation League's Justin Finger expressed concern, as well he might, that the Court may have given (in the *New York Times*' paraphrase) "a sweeping endorsement of racial quotas." If we get a sweeping endorsement of representative racial quotas, we will have nothing less than active antisemitism, since the manifest intellectual qualifications of the Jewish minority result in such anomalies as registration in the better colleges at eight or ten times the Jewish representation in the population, the triumph of meritocracy.

The strain arises at two levels. The first is this last decision, wherein the Court picks up a law designed to forbid racial discrimination and turns it around so as to *permit* racial discrimination. The second strain arises from the dilemma posed by the original act. There are those (I am one) who in fact believe in discreet affirmative action, as noblesse oblige rather than as constitutional duty. But in order to practice affirmative action, it is in fact necessary to discriminate racially. And that—until the Weber case—was supposed to be unlawful.

Chief Justice Burger began his dissent by saying, "The Court reaches a result I would be inclined to vote for were I a member of Congress considering a proposed amendment of Title VII. I cannot join the Court's judgment, however, because it is contrary to the explicit language of the statute and arrived at by means wholly incompatible with long-established principles of separation of powers."

What the Chief Justice didn't say, but which our creeping immersion in the quagmire of racial quotas is teaching us, is that the original act was misbegotten. Senator Goldwater was right. □

SENATOR KENNEDY NOW

New York, July 6—I cling tenaciously to the position that the American people are prepared to forget Chappaquiddick, and it is my own theory that we should. It is ten years now since it happened. It is almost certain that but for Chappaquiddick, Senator Kennedy could have had the presidential nomination in 1972. And it is unassailably true that but for Chappaquiddick, he could have had it in 1976. My thesis is that the two nominations forgone were propitiation; and that in the view of the American people, Senator Kennedy has been sufficiently punished. It would be unseemly for the Republican candidate to make an issue of Chappaquiddick, and although it would inevitably figure in the hugger-mugger of a national campaign, I cannot believe it would prove decisive; certainly it ought not to do so.

The case for nominating Kennedy becomes more persuasive. Paradoxically, both to Republicans and to Democrats. The failure of Mr. Carter's Presidency is lapidary. One of the principal reasons why SALT will fail is his leadership. The treaty, in the judgment of men whose technological knowledge is impressive, is inherently defective. But that apart, the American people inevitably will ask themselves whether existing leadership can be trusted as executor of a treaty the other half of which involves the Soviet Union. A John Connally guarding our interests under SALT II is one thing. A Jimmy Carter guarding our interests under SALT II crucially damages the treaty. Treaties are not always self-enforcing, as we discovered as recently as after Laos in 1962. On other fronts, the inflation Jimmy Carter set out to tame when it was at 4 per cent,

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at his inauguration, is raging. It sometimes appears as if all the world were conspiring to frustrate Mr. Carter's dreams. In the wild chiaroscuro of Carter's Presidency the image that assaults us is of Jimmy Carter embracing Leonid Brezhnev, with the caption: "Jimmy Carter made human rights a matter of public policy."

So the Democrats have got to look elsewhere. Now the argument that there are men better qualified than Senator Kennedy for the Democratic nomination is as frivolous in the particular case as such arguments are generically. Every now and then James Reston or *Esquire* magazine will recite the overwhelming qualifications of some American figure, with the argument: "Why don't we elect this splendidly qualified man President?" The answer to which is: a) the splendidly qualified man won't get nominated; and if, *per impossibile*, he were, b) he wouldn't get elected. That Senator Kennedy is the manifest favorite candidate of the Democrats should be held against the Democrats only if we are prepared to make out a general case against democracy.

THE REASON Republicans should argue the case for Mr. Kennedy's nomination is subtle, but not indecipherable. If Kennedy is not nominated in 1980, he will be nominated in 1984. It is imperative that he be defeated. Imperative because Senator Kennedy's public life and attitudes are dominated by all the reactionary slogans of populism. His public responses to almost every question could have been taken verbatim from editorials in *The New Republic* of 1936. He is the True Believer in the socialist response. These we will always have with us, even as we will always have with us somebody who believes that Rothschild and the Banks are responsible for American foreign policy. But what makes 1980 so greatly important is that there is an as-yet-undissipated energy in America that argues the necessity of sacrifices in order to maintain U.S. sovereignty. By 1984, the creeping predominance of Soviet power will give rise to a peace-at-any-price party in the United States. We have already seen the beginning of that spirit in Europe, whose leaders have urged ratification of SALT II notwithstanding that it is manifestly to their disadvantage to conspire in the relative military impoverishment of the United States. But the shadow of the Russian bear is the principal presence in Europe. And that shadow will extend across the Atlantic in the years ahead. In 1948 we had Henry Wallace—at a moment in history when we could have crushed the Soviet Union with the slightest exertion. By 1984, the Democratic Party will probably be in the hands of men and women who will be preaching the necessity of appeasement-at-any-price. That will be the beginning of the fabled Finlandization of America. The point is to defeat Senator Kennedy, who will greatly enhance the movement's prospects, while we can. □

THE AWFUL EFFECTS OF UNREASON

New York, July 14—Political demagoguery gets in the way of lucid thought. There has never been a better example of this than in the current crisis, the only incidental benefit of which was the cancellation of one presidential speech.

The problem arises when you begin by talking only about poor people. There are problems that afflict Americans who live at or below the poverty level. But these are discrete problems. One does not set national policy on the basis of its consequences for poor people. One sets national policy on the basis of that which is sensible. Residual problems—like the special impact of a particular policy on the poor—are then attacked as that: as residual problems.

An example is food. When, 15 years ago, we came to know that a number of Americans were suffering from malnutrition, we didn't start out by imposing wage and price controls on grain, poultry, fish, and meat. We issued food stamps to the poor. Never mind that food stamps are substantially squandered—that tends to happen whenever government gets into the act. The fact of it is that any American who is too poor to eat gets substantial relief.

In medicine, Senator Kennedy is arguing for what amounts to nationalization of health, when what we have is a problem of people who are either too poor or too ignorant to take out health insurance. It is these people who need financial and organizational help.

Now the reason frequently given—for instance, last week by Senator Metzenbaum—why the American consumer ought not to expect to pay as much for oil and gas as, say, West Germany or France, is that after all we develop much of our own oil and gas and are therefore less dependent on outside sources than, say, Germany and France. But examine the consumption figures. The per capita consumption of energy in the United States expressed in BTUs (in millions) is 338. In Germany it is 155—or less than one-half. In France, it is 124. Expressed in conventional figures, the average American uses 100 units per year while the German uses 45.8, and the Frenchman 36.6 units.

NOW THIS means that Americans who insist that gasoline continue to sell at 75 cents per gallon, or home fuel at 40 cents, are in effect asking that the average in U.S. consumption be given to them *at no cost at all*. The *political* priority is to break up the cartel. But pending that, the *economic* priority is to give the marketplace the power to level the disparities. When France is selling gasoline for $2.40, the United States cannot sell it at 75 cents without in effect nationalizing the oil business. But since we have a Constitution, we cannot nationalize the oil business without compensation. The known reserves of U.S. oil are between $50 and $120 billion; of gas, about 600 trillion cubic feet. A rough figure, calculated at halfway between the control price and the OPEC price, would burden the taxpayers with a bill of $1.5 trillion in order to nationalize. Leaving us with what? The United States Oil and Gas Company, a government agency, which might be expected to operate as efficiently as the United States Postal Service.

The prosperity of the people of West Germany is not questioned. But they pay the OPEC price for oil, and charge the driver $2.40 a gallon—and there are no lines. The poor we always have with us, and we must find means to help them. But if in response to the grain crisis of 1972, or the beef crisis of 1973, or the sugar crisis of 1974, or the coffee crisis of 1977 we had set out to nationalize or subsidize bread, beef, sugar, and coffee, we would be in the kind of mess into which some leaders of the Democratic Party are endeavoring to usher us. □

(Universal Press Syndicate)

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Trans-O-Gram

By SVEND PETERSEN

DEFINITIONS

A. Missouri militant or a New York Indian — 61 47 34 201 2 78

B. Missives that editors do not answer — 76 11 15 71 102 174 182 118 190 200 / 37 45 60 67 115 153

C. State of being correct — 83 157 24 139 109 189 203 165 42

D. Where Joe McCarthy lived — 107 17 22 97 144 164 177 188 46 204

E. Joined directly to a modified noun without a linking verb — 124 140 178 57 110 43 19 183 196 223 / 207

F. A geometrical figure (*short form*) — 136 29 7 48 217

G. Seat of a county of the same name in downstate Illinois — 155 81 94 1 145 33 211 119 202

H. Impermanent — 162 58 206 9 151 170 212 186 38

I. A major religion — 6 25 30 166 63 35 90 3 50 96 / 99 75

J. HACK HER FIEND — 179 5 88 53 66 98 103 156 131 137 / 160 105

K. Reverent wonder — 199 68 219

L. A Belgian invented this musical instrument — 210 59 85 10 154 184 167 111 74

M. View — 218 123 70 8 73 91 191

N. To put an end to doubt or uncertainty — 4 158 64 192 12 113 127

O. A *border state*, a section of the nation, and stop equals an insect — 51 82 89 18 32 62 72 93

P. Undeniably — 23 220 80 224 128 126

Q. In an unsteady manner — 28 13 193 209 171 41 133

R. There are more than three sides to this type of geometrical figure — 36 175 161 52 112 215 168 65 21

S. A form of life offered by WORD I — 39 195 104 14 225 172 159

T. A prominent forelock — 117 44 106 142 150

U. An island where one of the unrecorded Sherlock Holmes adventures occurred — 194 143 16 40

V. Where you will find the alert stay-at-home Indian (archaic word) — 55 95 129 49 208 169

W. Freed from *restraint* — 120 197 114 77 54 92 185 146

X. Captured again — 152 79 130 20 149 163 198

Y. A term common to baseball and billiards — 222 125 176 121 214 134

Z. A *contrivance* — 56 147 205 138 84 26

a. What every summer seems to be — 69 135 122 173 87 27 181

b. HOOT CHEAT — 86 141 31 216 100 180 187 108 132

c. A marsh plant — 148 101 213 221 116

DIRECTIONS

The object of TRANS-O-GRAM is to fill out the puzzle diagram by guessing the words (above) from their DEFINITIONS, and transferring each letter of the guessed word to the correspondingly numbered square in the diagram. When the diagram is filled out it will spell out a quotation from some published work (reading normally from left to right, black boxes indicating the ends of words); also, when the WORDS have all been filled in above, their initial letters will spell out the author and title of the quoted work. The acrostic feature, and the relative word-lengths in the diagram, will assist in the solution.

See page 988 for Solution to last Trans-O-Gram.

■	■	■	1 G	■	2 A	3 I	4 N	■	5 J	■	6 I	7 F	8 M	9 H	10 L	11 B	12 N	13 Q	14 S
■	15 B	16 U	■	17 D	18 O	19 E	20 X	21 R	■	22 D	23 P	24 C	25 I	26 Z	27 a	■	28 Q	29 F	30 I
31 b	32 O	33 G	34 A	■	35 I	36 R	37 B	■	38 H	39 S	40 U	41 Q	42 C	■	43 E	44 T	45 B	■	46 D
47 A	48 F	49 V	50 I		51 O	52 R	53 J	54 W	■	55 V	■	56 Z	57 E	58 H	59 L	60 B	■	61 A	62 O
63 I	64 N	65 R	66 J	67 B	■	68 K	69 a	70 M	71 B	■	72 O	73 M	74 L	75 I	■	76 B	77 W	78 A	79 X
80 P	■	81 G	82 O	83 C	■	84 Z	85 L	86 b	87 a	88 J	89 O	90 I	91 M	92 W	■	93 O	94 G	■	95 V
96 I	97 D	98 J	■	99 I	100b	101c	102B	103J	104S	■	105J	106T	107D	108b	109C	110E	111L	112R	■
113N	114W	115B	■	116c	117T	118B	119G	120W	121Y	122a	123M	■	124E	125Y	126P		127N	128P	129V
■	130X	131J	132b	133Q	■	134Y	135a	■	136F	137J	138Z	139C	140E	■	141b	142T	143U	■	144D
145G	146W	■	147Z	148c	149X	■	150T	151H	152X	■	153B	154L	155G	156J	157C	158N	159S	■	160J
161R	162H	163X	164D	165C	166I	167L	168R	■	169V	170H	171Q	172S	173a	174B	175R	176Y	177D	■	178E
179J	180b	181a	■	182B	183E	184L	185W	186H	■	187b	188D	189C	190B	191M	192N	193Q	194U	195S	196E
197W	198X	199K	200B	■	201A	202G	203C	204D	205Z	206H	207E	208V	209Q	210L	■	211G	212H	213c	■
214Y	215R	216b	■	217F	218M	219K	220P	■	221c	222Y	223E	224P	225S	■	■	■	■	■	■

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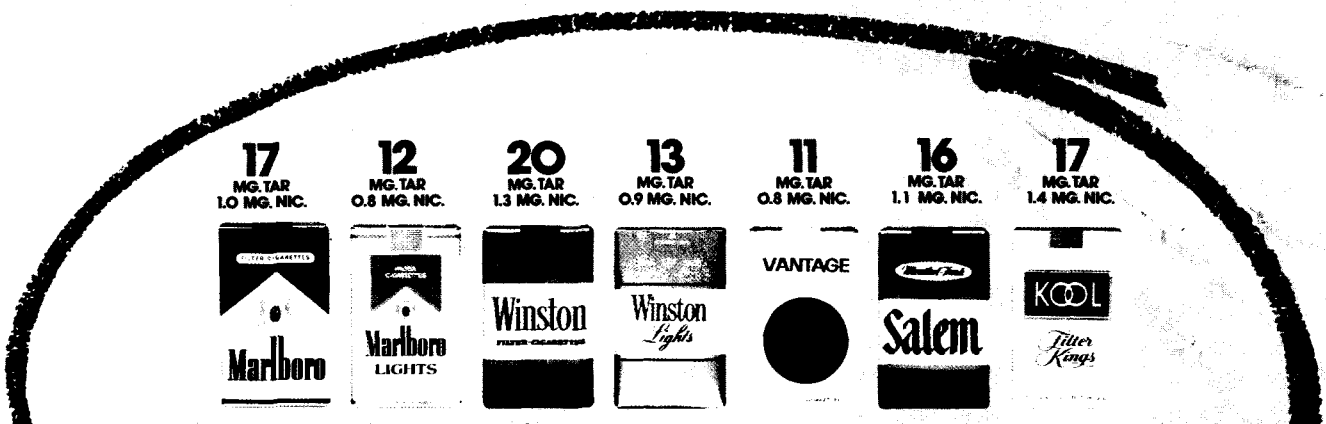

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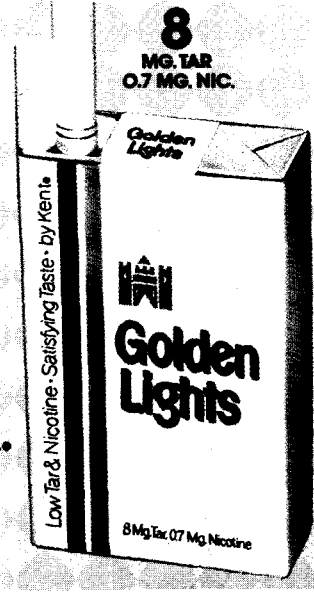

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